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The Student's Old Testament

ISRAEL'S
LAWS AND LEGAL PRECEDENTS
James H. Lees,

THE STUDENT'S OLD TESTAMENT

LOGICALLY AND CHRONOLOGICALLY
ARRANGED AND TRANSLATED

BY

CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D.

WOOLSEY PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE IN YALE UNIVERSITY

ARRANGEMENT OF VOLUMES

I. Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History. (*Now Ready.*)

Introduction. The Beginnings of Human History. Traditional Ancestors of the Hebrews. Deliverance of the Hebrews from Egypt. Life of the Hebrews in the Wilderness and East of the Jordan. Conquest and Settlement of Canaan.

II. Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives. (*Now Ready.*)

Introduction. The United Monarchy. History of Northern Israel. History of Judah. Re-establishment of the Jewish Community in Palestine. The Maccabean Struggle. Life of the Jews of the Dispersion.

III. Prophetic Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses

Introduction. The Prophets of the Assyrian Period. Prophets of Judah's Decline. Prophets of the Babylonian Exile. Prophets of the Persian Period. Prophets of the Greek and Maccabean Periods.

IV. Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents. (*Now Ready.*)

Introduction. Family Laws. Constitutional Laws. Criminal Laws. Humane Laws. Laws defining Obligations to Jehovah. Ceremonial Laws.

V. Songs, Psalms, and Prayers

Introduction. Tribal and National Songs. Songs of Lamentation. Imprecatory Psalms. Royal and Messianic Psalms. Psalms of Thanksgiving. Psalms of Praise and Adoration. Psalms of Penitential Psalms. Psalms of Faith and Hope. Didactic Psalms. Songs of Love and Marriage.

VI. Proverbs and Didactic Poems

Introduction. Practical and Ethical Observations and Precepts. Religious Proverbs. Gnostic Essays. Numerical Enigmas. Discussions of the Problem of Evil. Discussions regarding the Value of Life and its Wise Enjoyment. Poems describing Wisdom.

GROWTH AND APPROXIMATE DATES OF THE

B.C.

1200

About 1200 Exodus from Egypt.

1150-1100 Settlement of Canaan.

1100

1030 Establishment of Saul's Kingdom.

1010 David's Coronation at Hebron.

1000

975 Solomon's Coronation.

965 Completion of the Temple.

937 Division of the Hebrew Empire.

900

875-850 Work of Elijah.

854-839 Campaigns of Shalmaneser II.

850

850-795 Work of Elisha.

842 Jehu's Tribute to Shalmaneser II.

810 Joash's Tribute to Hazael.

800

781-740 Reign of Jeroboam II.

750-740 Preaching of Amos.

750

745-736 Work of Hosea.

737-690 Work of Isaiah.

722-721 Capture of Samaria.

700

686-641 Reactionary Reign of Manasseh.

663 Ashurbanipal's Capture of Thebes.

650

626 Earlier Sermons of Zephaniah and Jeremiah.

621 Great Reformation of Josiah.

600

597 The First Captivity. Work of Ezekiel.

586 The Final Captivity.

560 Expulsion of Foreigners from Egypt.

550

538 Capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

520-516 Rebuilding of the Temple.

520-516 Reorganization of Persian Empire.

500

490 Battle of Marathon.

480 Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.

470 Expulsion of Persians from Europe.

450

445 Rebuilding the Walls of Jerusalem.

432 Nehemiah's Second Visit.

400

400 Adoption of the Priestly Law by the Judean Community.

350

PROPHETIC TEACHING

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DECALOGUES
(Ex. 20²³⁻²⁶, 22²¹, 23¹⁹)

DECALOGUE
OF THE
TWO TABLES

JUDEAN

VERSION

(Ex. 34)

EPHRAIMITE BOOK

(Ex. 20)

PRIMITIVE CODES

DECISIONS
OF

LATER
JUDGES

PROPHETIC
DECALOGUE
(Ex. 20²⁻¹⁷)

LAW BOOK OF JOSIAH
(Dt. 12-19, 26)

Dt. 5-

DEUTERONOMIC CODE

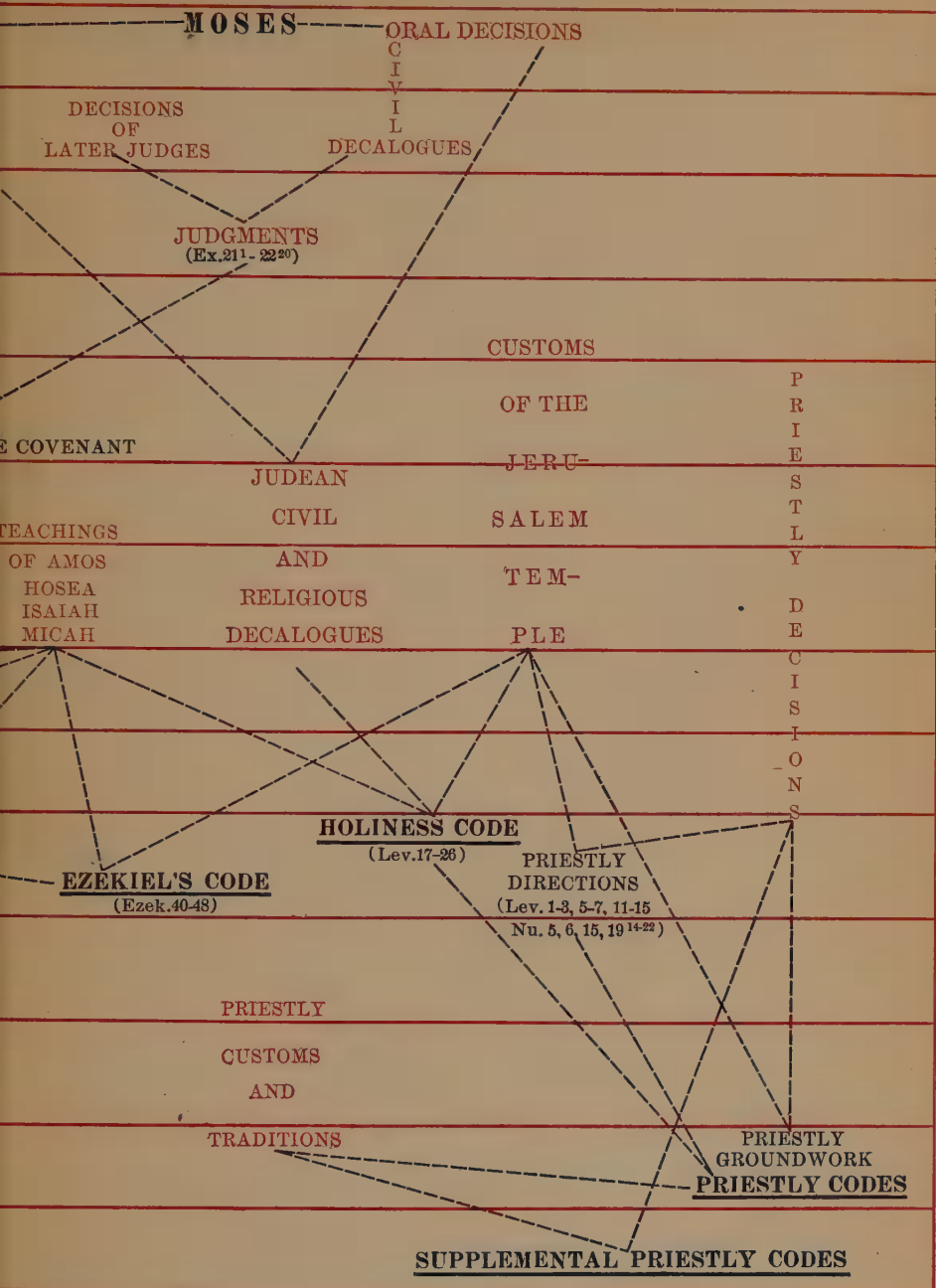
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The Student's Old Testament

ISRAEL'S
LAWS AND LEGAL PRECEDENTS

FROM THE DAYS OF MOSES TO THE CLOSING OF
THE LEGAL CANON

J. H. Lees.

BY

CHARLES FOSTER KENT, PH.D.

Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University

WITH PLANS AND DIAGRAMMS

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

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PREFACE

672

THE *Torah* represents the first edition of the Old Testament, and in the life and thought of Judaism it has always retained that first place. In the reaction from this extreme emphasis upon the law, Christianity has perhaps underestimated the permanent value of the Old Testament legal literature. In rejecting that which is only national and temporal, it has also overlooked much that is vital and eternal. Law and prophecy are not antithetic, as is sometimes imagined, but rather different expressions of the same divine revelation, the one through the life and institutions of the nation, the other through the experience and minds of certain divinely enlightened men. The prophets proclaimed the principles which the lawgivers applied practically and concretely to the needs of their day and race. Both labored in their characteristic way to realize the will of God in the life of the nation and individual; but the lawgivers were in closest touch with that life and therefore in their writings picture it most concretely and vividly.

That inner history, however, is almost completely obscured by the confused order in which the laws at present are found. Civil and ceremonial, criminal and humane, secular and religious, ancient and late laws and legal precedents are all mingled together, with little trace of systematic classification. The one who seeks to read or study them is constantly distracted, as in the book of Proverbs, by the sudden transitions; if he desires to determine the teaching of the Old Testament on a given theme, it is only after the most laborious research that he is able to bring similar laws together. Even when this preliminary work has been done, the result is often perplexing, for many of the laws contradict each other.

The present confused order is the inevitable result of the complex process of collecting, editing and supplementing through which each of the legal books has passed. The laws of many ancient and modern nations present close analogies. Since law through gradual growth is adapted to the varying needs of succeeding generations, there is an inevitable lack of order unless the whole body of enactments is frequently and thoroughly codified.

The first requisite, therefore, if the Old Testament legal literature is to be studied intelligently and profitably, is that similar laws be grouped together, and then that those in each resulting group be arranged in their chronological order. For practical purposes it is important that all the regulations relating to a given subject be reproduced, even at the cost of occasional repetitions. It is also desirable to follow, as far as it can be discovered, the original Hebrew order of classification. In Exodus 21¹–23¹⁹, which contains the oldest collection of laws in the Old Testament,

PREFACE

there is evidence of careful arrangement (cf. p. 27 and Appendix II). It is in general: (1) personal and family laws; (2) criminal laws, comprising injuries to persons, property, and society; (3) humane laws, emphasizing the duty of kindness to animals and men; (4) religious laws, defining obligations to God; and (5) ceremonial laws, containing minute directions regarding worship and the ritual. Inasmuch as this order is both logical and in general accord with the relative historical development of these different groups of laws, it has been followed in the system of classification adopted in the present volume. The minor sub-divisions are determined by the nature of the laws themselves and the modern principles of legal codification. The laws within each section are also arranged in their chronological order, so that the history and development of each Israelitish law and institution can be readily followed from their earliest to their latest stages. Nowhere in all legal literature can the genesis and growth of primitive law be traced so clearly as in Israel's codes thus restored. They also represent the most important corner-stones of our modern English laws and institutions and therefore challenge and richly reward the study of all legal and historical students.

The Old Testament laws, arranged in their chronological order, reveal the deeper currents and forces in the life of ancient Israel of which the external events in that remarkable history were but the effect. In each successive code the presence and power of God can be clearly recognized. Through that divine influence, customs, originally very rude and barbarous, are gradually transformed and ennobled, until they worthily express and effectively enforce the eternal standards of justice and love and mercy. It is also because these laws reveal Israel's and therefore humanity's faith and ethics in the making that they possess a great and permanent value. Each succeeding lawgiver, as did the great Teacher of Nazareth (cf. Mt. 5^{17, 21-48}), felt under obligation to revise and bring to more perfect expression the divine ideals constantly revealed in fuller measure to each succeeding generation.

My great debt to the scholars who have contributed richly to our knowledge on the many subjects considered in this volume is suggested in the list of detailed references in Appendix I. The translations of the laws of Hammurabi are from Johns' *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*—a work with which all students of Israel's laws should be acquainted. Again I am under great obligation to the members of my Biblical and Hebrew seminars for many valuable suggestions, and especially to the Reverend Roy Mac Houghton in connection with the work of codification, to Mr. Darwin Ashley Leavitt for collaboration in the translation of the priestly laws, and to the Reverend Morgan Millar for aid in revising the copy.

C. F. K.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
May, 1907.

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL'S LAWS AND LEGAL PRECEDENTS

	PAGE
I. THE BABYLONIAN BACKGROUND OF ISRAEL'S LAWS	3
II. THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ISRAELITISH LAW.....	8
III. THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES.....	16
IV. THE DEUTERONOMIC CODES.....	31
V. EZEKIEL AND THE HOLINESS CODE.....	36
VI. THE PRIESTLY CODES.....	43

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LAWS

A. PERSONAL RELATION AND CONDITION.	<i>Classification of the Codes</i>					PAGE
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Deuteronomic</i>	<i>Holiness</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	<i>Supplemental Priestly</i>	
I. PARENTS AND CHILDREN.						
§ 1. Honor and Obedience Due Parents	Ex. 21 ¹⁵ , 17	Dt. 5 ¹⁶ , 21 18-21, 27 16 [Ex. 20 12]*	Lev. 19 ^{3a} , 20 ⁹ .....	.....	.....	51
§ 2. Authority of Father over Unmarried Daughter. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nu. 30 ³⁻⁵	52
II. THE MARRIAGE RELATION.						
§ 3. Relatives between Whom Marriage is Illegitimate ....	.....	Dt. 22 ³⁰ , 27 ^{20, 22, 23}	Lev. 18 ⁶⁻ 18, 23, 24	.....	.....	53
§ 4. Marriage with a Captive .....	.....	Dt. 21 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴	.....	.....	.....	54

* References in brackets represent duplicate passages not reproduced in text; those in parentheses are to later additions to earlier codes.

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes					PAGE
	Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	Priestly	Supplemental Priestly	
II. THE MARRIAGE RELATION— <i>Cont'd.</i>						
§ 5. Marriage with Aliens		Ex. 34 ^{12a} , 15, 16, Dt. 7 ¹⁻⁴		Nu. 25 ⁶⁻¹³		54
§ 6. Marriage of Priests			Lev. 21 ⁷ , 13-15			55
§ 7. Marriage after Seduction	Ex. 22 ¹⁶	Dt. 22 ^{28,29}				56
§ 8. Levirate Marriage		Dt. 25 ⁵⁻¹⁰				56
§ 9. Authority of a Husband over His Wife					Nu. 30 ⁶⁻⁸ , 13-15	57
§ 10. The Test of a Wife's Chastity and the Penalty for Unchastity		Dt. 22 ¹³⁻²¹			Nu. 5 ²⁹ , 13b, 30a, 14b, 30b, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26b, 27a, 28 . . .	57
§ 11. Laws of Divorce	Gen. 2 ¹⁸ , 23, 24, Ex. 21 ⁷⁻¹¹	Dt. 22 ¹⁸ , 19, 28, 29, 24 ¹⁻⁴ . . .				59
III. MASTERS AND HIRED SERVANTS.						
§ 12. Rights of Hired Servants		Dt. 24 ¹⁴ , 15	Lev. 19 ^{13b} , 25 ⁶ , 22 ^{10b}			60
IV. SLAVES AND MASTERS.						
§ 13. Enslavement of Israelites and Resident Aliens			Lev. 25 39, 40a, 43		Lev. 25 44-46	61
§ 14. Permanent Slavery	Ex. 21 ⁵ , 6	Dt. 15 ^{16,17}				61

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

		Classification of the Codes					
		Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	Priestly	Supplemental Priestly	PAGE
IV. SLAVES AND MASTERS— <i>Cont'd.</i>							
§ 15. Sale of Slaves	Ex. 21 ^{7, 8}	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	62
§ 16. Manumission of Israelitish Slaves...	Ex. 21 ^{2-4, 26, 27}	Dt. 15 ^{12-15, 18}	.....	.....	.....	Lev. 25 ¹⁰	62
§ 17. Redemption of Israelitish Slaves .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lev. 25 ⁴⁷⁻⁵⁵	63
§ 18. Reception of Fugitive Slaves.....	.....	Dt. 23 ^{15, 16}	.....	.....	.....	.....	64
§ 19. Penalty for Injury Done to Slaves.....	Ex. 21 ^{20, 21, 26, 27}	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	65
§ 20. Reparation for Injury Done to Slaves.....	Ex. 21 ³²	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	65
§ 21. Religious Privileges of Slaves.....	.....	Dt. 12 ^{17, 18, 16^{10, 11}}	.....	Ex. 12 ^{43b, 44} .....	.....	.....	65
V. ALIENS.							
§ 22. Rights and Duties of Resident Aliens...	Ex. 22 ^{21, [23⁹]}	Dt. 24 ^{14, 17, 18, 1^{16, 27}19}	Lev. 25 ^{47, 48a, 53, 19^{33, 34a, 24}22}	Nu. 15 ^{29, 30, 35, 15¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 9¹⁴...}	66
§ 23. Limitations and Rights of Foreigners.....	.....	Dt. 15 ^{3a, 23^{20a}20a, 14^{21a, c}}	.....	Ex. 12 ⁴³	.....	.....	67
B. RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.							
§ 24. Restoration of Lost Property.....	Ex. 23 ^{4, 5}	Dt. 22 ¹⁻⁴	.....	.....	.....	.....	68

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes					PAGE
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Deutero- nomic</i>	<i>Holiness</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	<i>Supple- mental Priestly</i>	
§ 25. Reparation for Damage or Loss of Prop- erty.....	Ex. 21 ³³ , 34, 22 ⁵ , 6, 21 ²⁸⁻³² , 35, 36, 22 14, 15, 7, 8, 10-13, 9	.....	Lev. 24 ¹⁸ , 21a	Lev. 6 ¹⁻⁵	.....	68
§ 26. Theory of the Ownership of Land.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lev. 25 ²³	70
§ 27. Conveyance of Real Prop- erty.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lev. 25 ¹⁵ , 16, 34.....	71
§ 28. Redemption of Hereditary Land.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lev. 25 ²⁴ - 27, 29-32..	71
§ 29. Revision of Hereditary Land.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lev. 25 ¹³ , 28b, 31b, 33 [Nu. 36 3, 4].....	72
VI. RIGHTS OF IN- HERITANCE.						
§ 30. The Law of Primogeniture.	.....	Dt. 21 ¹⁵ - 17, 25 ⁵ , 6	.....	.....	.....	72
§ 31. Rights of Daughters to Inherit.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nu. 27 ¹⁻¹¹	73
§ 32. Heiress to Marry Within Her Own Tribe	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nu. 36 ¹⁻¹²	73

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS

	<i>Classification of the Codes</i>					PAGE
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Deutero- nomic</i>	<i>Holiness</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	<i>Supple- mental Priestly</i>	
A. POLITICAL OR- GANIZATION.						
§ 33. Qualifica- tions for Citi- zenship.....		Dt. 23 ¹⁻⁸				77
§ 34. The Census					Nu. 1 ¹⁻³ , 3 14, 15, 4 ¹⁻³	78
§ 35. Division of the Land.....		Josh. 18 ²⁻¹⁰			Nu. 26 ⁵²⁻⁵⁶ [33 ⁵⁴].	78
§ 36. Respect Due Rulers.....	Ex. 22 ^{28b}					79
§ 37. Qualifica- tions and Duties of the King...		Dt. 17 ¹⁴⁻²⁰				80
B. MILITARY REG- ULATIONS.						
ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.						
§ 38. Legal Age of Service.....				Nu. 26 ^{2a} , 3a [1 ² , 3].		80
§ 39. Exemptions from Military Service.....		Dt. 20 ^{1a} , 5-7, 24 ⁵			Nu. 1 ^{48, 49} , 2 ³³	81
§ 40. Minor Offi- cers.....		Dt. 20 ⁹ , 11 1a, 13-15				81
C. REGULATIONS GOV- ERNING THE ARMY IN THE FIELD.						
§ 41. Cleanliness of the Camp..		Dt. 23 ⁹⁻¹⁴				82
§ 42. Manner of Attack.....		Dt. 20 ¹⁻⁴ , 10-12		Nu. 10 ⁹		82
§ 43. Division of the Booty.....	I Sam. 30 21-25					83

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

Classification of the Codes					
	Primitive	Deutero- nomic	Holiness	Priestly	Supple- mental Priestly
II. REGULATIONS GOV- ERNING THE ARMY IN THE FIELD— <i>Continued.</i>					
§ 44. Disposal of the Spoils and Captives.....		Dt. 20 ¹⁰ , 12-18, 7 ¹ , 2, 16, 22- 26, 20 ¹⁹ , 20, 21 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴			Nu. 31 ^{1a} . 2, 3, 7-18, 21-31.....
					PAGE 83
C. THE JUDICIARY.					
§ 45. Appoint- ment of Judges	Ex. 18 ¹³⁻²⁶	Dt. 16 ^{18a}			86
§ 46. Duties of Judges.....	Ex. 23 ⁶⁻⁸	Dt. 16 ^{18b-} 20, 1 ¹⁶ , 17, 27 ²⁵ , 25 1, 2	Lev. 19 ¹⁵		87
§ 47. The Su- preme Court of Appeal.....		Dt. 17 ⁸⁻¹¹			88
§ 48. Number of Witnesses Re- quired to Con- vict.....		Dt. 19 ¹⁵ , 17 ⁶		Nu. 35 ³⁰	89
§ 49. Duties of Witnesses.....	Ex. 23 ¹⁻³ [20 ¹⁶]	Dt. 5 ²⁰ , 17 7	Lev. 19 ¹⁶	Lev. 5 ¹ ..	89
§ 50. Punishment of False Wit- nesses.....		Dt. 19 ¹⁶⁻²¹			90
§ 51. Execution of Judicial Sen- tence.....		Dt. 25 ² , 3			90
§ 52. Punishment for Contempt of Court.....		Dt. 17 ^{12,13}			90
§ 53. Object of Cities of Refuge	Ex. 21 ¹²⁻ 14	Dt. 19 ¹⁻¹³ , 4 ⁴¹⁻⁴³			Nu. 35 ⁹⁻¹⁵
					91

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	<i>Classification of the Codes</i>					PAGE
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Deutero- nomic</i>	<i>Holiness</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	<i>Supple- mental Priestly</i>	
D. POPULAR IN- STRUCTION IN THE LAW.						
§ 54. Publishing the Law.....	Dt. 27¹⁻⁴, 8, Josh. 8³⁰⁻³² ...	.....	.....	.....	92
§ 55. P u b l i c Reading of the Law.....	Dt. 31⁹⁻¹³, Josh. 8 33-35 ...	.....	.....	.....	93
§ 56. Instruction of Children....	Dt. 6^{6-9, 20- 25} [11¹⁸⁻²¹]	.....	.....	.....	94

CRIMINAL LAWS

	<i>Classification of the Codes</i>					
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Deutero- nomic</i>	<i>Holiness</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	<i>Supple- mental Priestly</i>	
I. CRIMES AGAINST JE- HOVAH.						
§ 57. Worship- ping Other Gods.....	Ex. 34¹⁴, 22¹⁹, 23 13b	Dt. 57, 6 14, 15, 8¹⁹, 20, 30¹⁷, 18, 11¹⁶, 17, 26-28, 17²⁻⁷ [Ex. 20³].....	.....	.....	.....	97
§ 58. Apostasy...	.....	Dt. 13¹⁻¹⁸	.....	.....	.....	99
§ 59. Idolatry ...	Ex. 34¹⁷, 20^{23b}	Dt. 58-10 [Ex. 20^{4- 6}], Dt. 16 21, 22, 12 1-4, 7⁵, 27 15, 4¹⁵⁻²⁸	Lev. 19⁴, 26¹.....	.....	.....	100
§ 60. Sorcery and Divination	Ex. 22¹⁸	Dt. 18⁹⁻¹⁴	Lev. 18³, 24, 20²³, 27, 19^{26b}, 31, 20⁶...	.....	.....	102

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

		Classification of the Codes					
		Primitive	Deutero- nomic	Holiness	Priestly	Supple- mental Priestly	PAGE
I. CRIMES AGAINST JEHOVAH—Continued							
§ 61. Sacrifice of Children to Heathen Gods.			Dt. 12 ²⁹⁻³¹ 18 ^{10a}		Lev. 18 ^{21a} 20 ²⁻⁵		103
§ 62. Blasphemy.	Ex. 22 ^{28a}		Dt. 5 ¹¹ [Ex. 20 ⁷]	Lev. 19 ¹² , 18 ^{21b} , 24 15b, 16		Lev. 24 ¹⁰⁻ 13, 23	104
§ 63. False Proph- ecy.			Dt. 18 ¹⁸⁻²²				104
§ 64. Desecra- tion of Sacred Things.				Lev. 19 ^{30b} 22 ^{3b}	Nu. 18 ²²	Nu. 3 ^{38b} , 4 ¹⁷⁻²⁰ , Lev. 7 ²⁰ , 21	105
§ 65. Labor on the Sabbath.	Ex. 34 ²¹ , 23 ¹²		Dt. 5 ¹²⁻¹⁵ [Ex. 20 ⁸⁻ 11]	Lev. 19 ^{3b} [20a], 26 2a	Ex. 35 ^{2, 3}	Ex. 31 ^{13b-} 17, Nu. 15 32-36	105
II. CRIMES AGAINST THE STATE.							
§ 66. Bribery.	Ex. 23 ⁸		Dt. 16 ^{19b} , 27 ²⁵				107
§ 67. Perverting Justice.	Ex. 23 ¹⁻³ , 6, 7		Dt. 16 ^{19a} , 20	Lev. 19 ¹⁵ [35a]			107
§ 68. Perjury.			Dt. 5 ²⁰ [Ex. 20 16], Dt. 19 16-21	Lev. 19 ¹²			108
§ 69. Deliberate Defiance of the Law.			Dt. 17 ^{12, 13}		Nu. 15 ³⁰ , 31		108
III. CRIMES AGAINST MORALITY AND DECENCY.							
§ 70. Adultery.			Dt. 5 ¹⁸ [Ex. 20 14], Dt. 22 ²²⁻²⁴	Lev. 18 ²⁰ , 20 ¹⁰	Nu. 5 ^{12b} , 13a, c, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26a, 27b, 31		109

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

Classification of the Codes

III. CRIMES AGAINST MORALITY AND DECENCY—*Cont'd.*

§ 71. Illicit In-
tercourse.....

§ 72. Unlawful
Marriage.....

§ 73. Sodomy....

§ 74. Bestiality ..

§ 75. Prostitution

§ 76. Indecent
Assault

§ 77. Interchange
of the Dress of
the Sexes.....

§ 78. Unnatural
Mixtures

§ 79. Kidnapping

§ 80. Covetous-
ness.....

§ 81. Lying

IV. CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON.

§ 82. Dishonor-
ing Parents....

§ 83. Murder

§ 84. Assault....

Primitive

*Deutero-
nomic*

Holiness

Priestly

*Supple-
mental
Priestly*

Lev. 19²⁰.

Lev. 19²¹,
22

PAGE
110

Dt. 22³⁰,
27^{20, 22, 23}

Lev. 18⁶-
18, 20¹¹,
12, 14, 17,
20, 21

110

Lev. 18²²,
20¹³

111

Lev. 18²³-
25, 20¹⁵,
16, 18¹⁹,
20¹⁸

112

Lev. 19²⁹,
21⁹

112

Dt. 25^{11, 12}

113

Dt. 22⁵...

113

Lev. 19¹⁹

113

Dt. 24⁷...

113

Dt. 5²¹
[Ex. 20¹⁷]

114

Lev. 19^{11b}

114

[Lev. 19
3a, 20⁹]

114

Lev. 24¹⁷,
21b

Gen. 9^{5, 6}.

Nu. 35¹⁴,
34

114

Lev. 24¹⁹

116

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

		Classification of the Codes					
		Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	Priestly	Supplemental Priestly	
IV. CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON— <i>Continued.</i>							
§ 85. Personal Injury.....	Ex. 21 ^{28-32, 22-25}						PAGE 117
§ 86. Rape.....			Dt. 22 ²⁵⁻²⁷				117
§ 87. Seduction..	Ex. 22 ^{16, 17}		Dt. 22 ^{28, 29}				118
§ 88. Wronging the Defenceless	Ex. 22 ^{21a} [21b], 22 (23, 24)		Dt. 24 ^{14a} , 27 ^{18, 19}	Lev. 19 ¹⁴ , 33			118
§ 89. Slander....	Ex. 23 ^{1a}			Lev. 19 ¹⁶			118
V. CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY.							
§ 90. Theft.....	Ex. 22 ¹⁻⁴		Dt. 5 ¹⁹ [Ex. 20 ¹⁵], Dt. 23 ^{24, 25}	Lev. 19 ^{11a}	Lev. 6 ²⁻⁷		119
§ 91. Land Stealing.....			Dt. 19 ¹⁴ , 27 ¹⁷				120
§ 92. False Weights and Measures.....			Dt. 25 ¹³⁻¹⁶	Lev. 19 ³⁵⁻³⁷			120

HUMANE LAWS

		Classification of the Codes			
		Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	
I. KINDNESS TOWARD ANIMALS.					
§ 93. The Threshing Ox..			Dt. 25 ⁴		123
§ 94. Wild Animals.....	Ex. 23 ¹¹			Lev. 25 ⁵⁻⁷	123
§ 95. Beasts of Burden..	Ex. 23 ^{12a, b}				124
§ 96. The Mother and her Young.....	Ex. 34 ^{26b}		Dt. 22 ^{6, 7}	Lev. 22 ²⁸	124
II. CONSIDERATION FOR THE UNFORTUNATE.					
§ 97. In Taking Pledges ..			Dt. 24 ^{10, 11}		124
§ 98. Return of Garments Taken in Pledge.....			Dt. 24 ^{12, 13}		125

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes			
	Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	PAGE
II. CONSIDERATION FOR THE UNFORTUNATE—Continued				
§ 99. Not to Take a Millstone in Pledge.....		Dt. 24 ⁶		125
§ 100. Moderation in Inflicting the Bastinado..		Dt. 25 ^{2, 3}		125
§ 101. Exemption of the Relatives of Criminals from Punishment.....		Dt. 24 ¹⁶		125
§ 102. Precautions against Accident.....		Dt. 22 ⁸		125
III. TREATMENT OF DEPENDENT CLASSES.				
§ 103. Hired Servants.....		Dt. 24 ^{14, 15}	Lev. 19 ^{13b}	126
§ 104. Slaves.....	Ex. 23 ^{12a, c, 21²}	Dt. 15 ¹²⁻¹⁵	Lev. 25 ^{39, 40a, 43}	126
§ 105. Captives.....		Dt. 21 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴		127
§ 106. The Defenceless... Ex. 22 ^{21a (21b) 22 (23, 24)}		Dt. 24 ^{17, 18, 27 18, 19}	Lev. 19 ¹⁴	127
§ 107. The Poor.....	Ex. 23 ⁶	Dt. 15 ⁷⁻¹¹	Lev. 25 ³⁵	127
IV. PHILANTHROPIC PROVISIONS FOR THE NEEDY.				
§ 108. Leaving the Gleanings.....		Dt. 24 ¹⁹⁻²²	Lev. 19 ^{9, 10 [23 22]}	128
§ 109. Sharing the Offerings.....		Dt. 16 ^{11, 12 [13, 14], 26¹¹}		129
§ 110. Distribution of the Tithe.....		Dt. 14 ^{28, 29, 26 12, 13}		129
§ 111. Remission of Interest to the Poor.....	Ex. 22 ²⁵	Dt. 23 ^{19, 20}	Lev. 25 ³⁵⁻³⁸	130
§ 112. Rest and Remission of all Interest on the Seventh Year.....	Ex. 23 ^{10, 11}	Dt. 15 ¹⁻¹⁰	Lev. 25 ^{1-7, 20-22}	131
§ 113. Restoration of Property and Freedom in the Year of Jubilee..			<i>Priestly</i> Lev. 25 ^{8-16, 23. 40b-42}	132
V. KINDLY ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHERS.				
§ 114. Reverence for the Aged.....			<i>Holiness</i> Lev. 19 ^{32a}	133
§ 115. Love for Neighbors	Ex. 23 ^{4, 5}		Lev. 19 ^{17, 18}	133
§ 116. Love for Resident Alien.....		Dt. 10 ^{18b, 19}		133

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

LAWS DEFINING OBLIGATIONS TO JEHOVAH

	Classification of the Codes			
	Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	PAGE
I. NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.				
§ 117. To Abstain from Apostasy and Idolatry . .	Ex. 34 ^{14, 17}	Dt. 5 ^{7, 8} [Ex. 20 ^{1-5, 28b} , Dt. 5 ^{9, 10} , 6 ^{14, 15} , 27 ¹⁵]	Lev. 26 ¹	137
§ 118. To Abstain from Heathen Rites	Ex. 22 ¹⁹	Dt. 12 ²⁹⁻³¹ , 14 ^{1, 2} [18 ⁹]	Lev. 18 ³ , 19 ^{27, 28} [20 ²³]	137
§ 119. To Abolish Heathen Shrines	Ex. 34 ^{12, 13, 23} 24, 25a	Dt. 12 ^{2, 3} , 7 ^{5, 25}	. . . . .	138
§ 120. To Preserve the Law . . . . .	. . . . .	Dt. 4 ² . . . . .	. . . . .	139
§ 121. To Study and Remember the Law . . . . .	. . . . .	Dt. 6 ^{6, 7} , 11 ^{18a} [19] . . . . .	. . . . .	139
§ 122. To Wear Constant Reminders of the Law . . . . .	. . . . .	Dt. 6 ^{8, 9} , 22 ¹² [11 ^{18b-20}]	Nu. 15 (37, 38a) 38b-41	139
§ 123. To Follow its Commands . . . . .	. . . . .	Dt. 5 ^{1, 32, 33} , 6 ^{1-3, 16, 17} , 7 ^{11, 12} , 8 ^{1, 5-14} , 10 ^{12, 13} , 11 ^{1, 8, 9} , 26-32, 26 ^{16, 17} , 27 ^{10, 26} , 4 ^{5, 6} , 30 ^{15, 16}	Lev. 18 ^{4, 5, 26} , 19 ^{19a, 27} , 20 ^{8, 22} , 25 ^{18, 19}	140
§ 124. To Make No Heathen Alliances . . . . .	. . . . .	Ex. 34 ^{12, 13} [15, 16], 23 ^{31b-33} , Dt. 7 ¹⁻⁴ . . . . .	. . . . .	142
§ 125. To Be a Holy Nation	Ex. 22 ^{31a}	Ex. 19 ^{6a} , Dt. 7 ⁶ [14 ^{2, 21c}], 18 ^{13, 26} , 19, 28 ^{9, 10}	Lev. 19 ² , 26 ²⁶ [7]	143
II. INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS.				
§ 126. Reverence . . . . .	. . . . .	Dt. 5 ²⁹ , 6 ²⁴ , 8 ⁶ [4 ¹⁰ , 6 ² , 10-13, 10 ¹²⁻²⁰ , 13 ^{14, 14} , 23, 17 ¹⁹ , 31 ^{12, 13}]	Lev. 19 ^{32b} [25 ^{17b}]	144

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

II. INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS— <i>Continued</i>	<i>Classification of the Codes</i>			PAGE
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Deuteronomic</i>	<i>Holiness</i>	
§ 127. Gratitude.....		Dt. 6 ¹⁰⁻¹² , 8 ¹⁰ , 19		144
§ 128. Loyalty.....	Ex. 34 ¹⁴	Ex. 23 ¹³ , Dt. 5 ⁶		145
§ 129. Obedience.....		Dt. 6 ¹⁸ , 19, 10 ¹⁴⁻¹⁶ , 30 ⁸⁻¹⁰		145
§ 130. Love.....		Dt. 6 ⁴ , 5, 10 ¹² , 11 ¹ , 13-15, 30 ¹⁶ [19, 20]		146
§ 131. Service.....		Ex. 23 ^{25a} , Dt. 6 ¹³ , 10 ¹² , 20 [11 13-15]		146

CEREMONIAL LAWS

A. SACRED OBJECTS AND SHRINES.	<i>Classification of the Codes</i>			
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Deuteronomic</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	
I. THE ARK AND TENT OF MEETING OR DWELLING.				
§ 132. The Ark.....	Nu. 10 ^{33a} , c, 35, 36	Dt. 10 ¹⁻⁵ , 31 ²⁴⁻²⁶	Ex. 25 ¹⁰⁻²²	149
§ 133. The Original Tent of Meeting.....	Ex. 33 ⁵⁻¹¹			151
§ 134. The Post-Exilic Conception of the Tent of Meeting or Dwelling.			Ex. 25 ¹⁻⁹ , 26 ¹⁻³³	152
§ 135. Furnishings of the Dwelling.....			Ex. 25 ²³⁻⁴⁰ , 27 ¹⁻⁸ [Nu. 8 ⁴] (Ex. 30 ¹⁷⁻²¹ , 1-6, 26 34-37)	154
§ 136. Court of the Dwell- ing.....			Ex. 27 ⁹⁻¹⁹	157
II. ALTARS AND TEMPLES.				
§ 137. Ancient Altars and Places of Sacrifice.....	Ex. 20 ²⁴⁻²⁶	[Dt. 27 ⁵⁻⁷]		157
§ 138. Solomon's Temple.	I Kgs. 6 ²⁻⁶ , 8, 9, 15-17 (18, 19), 20 (21, 22), 29 (30), 23a, 26, 23b-25, 27- 35			158

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes			PAGE
	Primitive	Deuteronomic	Priestly	
II. ALTARS AND TEMPLES— <i>Continued</i>				
§ 139. Ornamentations and Furnishings of Solo- mon's Temple.....	I Kgs. 7 ¹³⁻¹⁷ , 18b, 20b, 18c (19, 20a), 21 (22), 23- 29, 30a, 32-39 (II Chr. 4 ^{1, 7, 8}), I Kgs. 7 ⁴⁰⁻⁴³ (II Chr. 3 ¹⁵⁻¹⁷ , 4 ²⁻ 6, 8, 5 ¹ , Jer. 52 21-23].....			159
§ 140. The Later Law of the One Sanctuary....		Dt. 12 ¹⁰⁻¹⁸ , 16 ⁵ , 6 [12 ¹⁻⁹ , 19-21, 26- 28, 14 ²²⁻²⁷ , 15 19, 20, 31 ^{10, 11}]	<i>Holiness</i> Lev. 17 ^{3a} (3b), 4a (4b), 4c-7a (7b)	161
III. EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE PLAN.				
§ 141. The Outer Gates and Court.....			<i>Ezekiel's Code</i> Ezek. 40 ¹⁻²⁷ ...	162
§ 142. The Inner Court...			40 ^{28-47a}	165
§ 143. The Great Altar...			40 ^{47b} , 43 ¹³⁻²⁷ ...	166
§ 144. The Temple Proper			40 ⁴⁸ —41 ⁴ , 15b-26	168
§ 145. The Side Chambers			41 ^{5-15a}	169
§ 146. Chambers and Kitchens for the Priests			42 ¹⁻¹⁴ , 46 ¹⁹⁻²⁴ ...	170
§ 147. Sanctity of the Temple and Land Con- secrated by Jehovah's Presence			42 ¹⁵ —43 ¹²	171
B. SACRED OFFICIALS IN THE PRE-EXILIC HE- BREW STATE.				
§ 148. Call of the Tribe of Levi.....	Ex. 32 ²⁵⁻²⁹	Dt. 10 ⁸		172
§ 149. Duties of the Sons of Levi.....	Dt. 33 ^{8a, 10}	Dt. 21 ^{5b} [18 ⁵], 17 ⁸⁻¹³ [31 ^{25, 26}], 24 ⁸ , 26 ¹⁻⁴ , 20 ²⁻⁴		174
§ 150. Prohibition against the Levites Holding Property		Dt. 18 ^{1a, b, 2} [10 9].....		175

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes			PAGE
	Primitive	Deuteronomic	Ezekiel's Code	
§ 151. Means of Support of the Sons of Levi		Dt. 18 ^{1a} , c, 3-8, 14 ²² , 23, 27, 12 ¹⁹ , 16 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴ , 14 ^{28, 29} [12 ¹¹ , 12, 17, 18]		176
§ 152. Slaves of the Sanctuary	Josh. 9 ²⁶ , 27 ^a (27 ^b)			177
C. SACRED OFFICIALS IN EZEKIEL'S HIERARCHY.				
§ 153. Duties of the Levites and Priests			Ezek. 44	177
§ 154. Duties of the Princes			45 ⁹⁻¹⁷ , 21-25, 46 ¹⁻¹⁵	180
§ 155. Apportionment of the Land to the Temple, Levites, City, Prince, and Tribes			45 ¹⁻⁸ , 46 ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ , 47 [48]	182
	Holiness	Priestly	Supplemental Priestly	
D. THE POST-EXILIC HIERARCHY.				
§ 156. Traditions Regarding the Origin of the Hierarchy		Nu. 3 ⁵⁻¹⁰ [17 ¹⁻¹¹ , Ex. 28 ¹]		185
I. THE LEVITES.				
§ 157. Legal Age of Service			(Nu. 8 ²³⁻²⁶)	186
§ 158. Consecration			Nu. 8 ^{5-15a} (15b-22)	186
§ 159. Duties		Nu. 3 ⁵⁻⁹ , 18 ¹⁻⁶ [8 ¹⁵ , 24-26]	Nu. 1 ⁴⁷⁻⁵³ , 3 ²⁵ , 26, 29-32, 35-37, 4 ⁴ , 5, 15, 24-33, I Chr. 23 ¹⁻⁵ [6-26], 27-32, 25 ¹⁻⁸	187
§ 160. Property and Means of Support		Nu. 18 ²¹ , 23, 24	Nu. 31 ²⁸⁻³⁰ , 47, 35 ¹⁻⁸ , Lev. 25 ²⁹⁻³⁴	191

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes			
	<i>Levitical</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	<i>Supplemental Priestly</i>	
II. THE PRIESTS.				
§ 161. Qualifications	Lev. 21 (16, 17a), 17b-21a (21b), 21c, 22a (22b), 23 (24)			PAGE 192
§ 162. Consecration		Ex. 29 ¹⁻⁴ , 8-25, 35, 36a [Lev. 8 ¹⁻⁶ , 13-36, Ex. 30 ²² , 40 ¹² , 14-16]		193
§ 163. Clothing		Ex. 28 ⁴⁰ (41), 42, 43 [29 ⁸ , 9, Lev. 8 ¹³]		194
§ 164. Ceremonial Clean- liness	Lev. 21 (1a), 1b- 6a (6b), 6c-9, 22 (1, 2a), 2b (2c), 2d-9	Lev. 10 ⁸ , 9	Lev. 10 ⁶ , 7, Ex. 30 ¹⁷⁻²¹	195
§ 165. Authority over the Levites		Nu. 35 , 6, 9, 18 ¹ , 2a, 4 ²⁷		196
§ 166. Duties		Lev. 10 ^{8a} , 10, 11, Nu. 18 ⁵ , 7a, Lev. 21 , 2 [9, 14- 16]	Lev. 6 ^{6b} , 7 [13, 14], Nu. 4 ^{11-15a} , 16	197
§ 167. Means of Support . .	Lev. 23 - 5 - 18a (18b, 19a), 20	Nu. 18 ²⁰ , Lev. 7 ¹¹⁻¹⁴ (28, 29a), 29b-33 (34), 35, 36 [37], 10 ¹⁴ (15), Ex. 29 ^{27, 28} , Nu. 18 ⁹ , 10 [Lev. 6 24-26, 7 ¹⁻⁷ , 5 ¹¹⁻ 13], 6 ^{14-16a} (16b), 17a (17b), 17c, 18a (18b), 18c, Nu. 6 19, 20, 18 ²⁵⁻³² , 5 9, 10, 18 ¹¹ , 14, 19, 15 ²⁰ , 21, 18 ¹² , 13, 15-18 [346-51], Lev. 24 ^{5-9a}	Lev. 10 ¹² , 13 [2 1-3], 7 ⁹ , 10 [Lev. 27 ¹⁻²⁹], Nu. 5 5-8, Lev. 7 ⁸ , Nu. 31 ²⁵⁻²⁹ . . .	198
III. THE HIGH PRIEST.				
§ 168. Installation		Ex. 29 ⁵⁻⁷	Ex. 40 ^{12, 13} [Lev. 8 ⁷⁻¹²]	203
§ 169. Clothing		Ex. 28 ¹⁻³⁹ , 29 ²⁹ , 30	[Ex. 39 ¹⁻³⁹]	203
§ 170. Ceremonial Clean- liness	Lev. 21 ¹⁰⁻¹⁵	Lev. 10 ⁸ , 9		206
§ 171. Duties		Lev. 16 ^{32-34a} [1- 31], Ex. 28 ²⁹ , 30	Ex. 30 ¹⁰ , Lev. 6 19-22, Ex. 30 ⁷ , 8	206

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes					
	Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	Priestly	Supplemental Priestly	
E. REGULATIONS REGARDING CEREMONIAL CLEANLINESS.						
I. FOOD.						
§ 172. Clean and Unclean Animals, Birds and Insects . . . . .	.....	Dt. 14 ³⁻²⁰	Lev. 20 ²⁵ , 26	Lev. 11 (1, 2a), 2b-23, 44b-47	Lev. 11 ²⁶ , 27, 29, 30, 41-44a . . .	PAGE 208
§ 173. Blood and Fat.....	.....	Dt. 12 ²³⁻²⁵ [16, 15 ²³]	Lev. 19 26a, 17 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴	Lev. 3 ¹⁷ , 7 ^{23b-25} [26] Gen. 9 ⁴	.....	211
§ 174. Flesh of Animals Torn by Beasts or Dying a Natural Death	Ex. 22 ³¹	Dt. 14 ^{21a}	Lev. 22 ⁸	Lev. 7 ²⁴ , 17 ^{15, 16}	.....	212
§ 175. Meat Ceremonially Unclean . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	Lev. 7 ^{19a}	.....	212
§ 176. Leavened Bread	Ex. 34 ^{25a} [23 ¹⁸]	.....	.....	.....	Ex. 12 ¹⁸⁻²⁰	213
§ 177. Fruit of Young Trees..	.....	.....	Lev. 19 ²³⁻²⁵	.....	.....	213
§ 178. Rules Regarding the Eating of Meat	Ex. 34 ^{26b}	Dt. 12 [15], 20-27	Lev. 17 ^{3a} (3b), 4a (4b), 4c-7a (7b), 8, 9, 19 ⁵⁻⁸ , 22 10-16	Lev. 7 ¹⁵⁻¹⁸	.....	213
II. CAUSES AND PURIFICATION OF CEREMONIAL UNCLEANNES.						
§ 179. Loathsome Diseases . . . . .	.....	Dt. 24 ⁸	Lev. 22 ^{4a}	Lev. 13, 14 1-32, 54-57, 15 ^{2b} , 3, 13-15 [16-18, 25-33]	Lev. 14 ³³⁻⁵³	215

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

		Classification of the Codes					PAGE
		Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	Priestly	Supplemental Priestly	
II. CAUSES AND PURIFICATION OF CEREMONIAL UNCLEanness— <i>Continued</i>							
§ 180. Childbirth.	.....				Lev. 12 ¹⁻⁸	.....	221
§ 181. Contact with the Dead.	.....		Dt. 21 ²² , 23, 1-5	Lev. 22 ^{4b} , 6a	Nu. 19 ¹⁴⁻²¹	Nu. 19 ¹¹⁻¹³ , 31 ¹⁹	222
§ 182. The Carcasses of Animals	.....				Lev. 5 ² , 11 ⁸	Lev. 11 ²⁴⁻²⁸ , 29b-40	223
§ 183. With Persons or Things Ceremonially Unclean	.....				Nu. 19 ²² , Lev. 5 ³ [15 ¹⁻²⁴]	.....	224
§ 184. With Spoils of War	.....					Nu. 31 ²⁰⁻²⁴	225
§ 185. Special Laws Governing the Nazirites	.....				Nu. 6 (1, 2a), 2b-12	.....	225
F. THE LAW OF CIRCUMCISION.							
§ 186. Origin and Requirements	.....				Gen. 17 ⁹⁻¹⁴ , 21 ⁴ , Lev. 12 ³ , Ex. 12 ⁴⁸	.....	226
G. THE SACRED DUES.							
§ 187. First-born Sons	Ex. 34 ^{19a} , 20c 22 ^{19b}				Ex. 13 ^{1, 2} , Nu. 3 ¹¹⁻¹³ , 44, 45	Nu. 3 ⁴⁶⁻⁵¹ [8 ¹⁶⁻¹⁸]	227
§ 188. First-born of Flock and Herd	Ex. 34 ^{19b} , 20, 13 ^{11-13a} , 22 ³⁰	Dt. 14 ²³⁻²⁷ , 15 ¹⁹⁻²²			Nu. 18 ¹⁵⁻¹⁸ [Lev. 27 ^{26, 27}]	.....	228
§ 189. Firstfruits.	Ex. 34 ^{26a} [23 ^{19a}]	Dt. 18 ⁴ , 26 ¹⁻¹¹	Lev. 19 ²⁴ , 23 (10a), 10b, 11	Nu. 15 (17, 18a), 18b-21	.....	.....	229
§ 190. Tithes	.....	Dt. 14 ²²⁻²⁷ , 26 ¹²⁻¹⁵			Nu. 18 ²⁵⁻³²	Lev. 27 ³⁰⁻³³	231
§ 191. Poll Tax	.....					Ex. 30 ¹¹⁻¹⁶	233

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes					PAGE
	Primitive	Deuteronomic	Holiness	Priestly	Supplemental Priestly	
§ 192. Voluntary Offerings.....	Ex. 34 ^{20c} , 22 ^{29a}	Dt. 16 ¹⁰ , 16, 17 [12 5-8	Lev. 22 (17, 18a), 18b-20			233
§ 193. Things Vowed or Devoted.....		Dt. 23 ²¹ - 23, 12 ²⁶		Nu. 6 ¹³⁻²¹	Nu. 30, Lev. 27 ¹⁻²⁹	234
§ 194. Spoils of War.....					Nu. 31 ²⁵⁻³¹	237
H. SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.						
§ 195. Animals Suitable for Sacrifice.....		Dt. 15 ²¹ , 17 ¹	Lev. 22 ^{18b-22a} (22b), 23-25 (26), 27a (27b).			238
I. THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF OFFERINGS.						
§ 196. Ordinary Animal Sacrifice.....	Ex. 10 ²⁴ , 25, 18 ¹²	Dt. 12 ¹¹		Lev. 3 ^{1-7a}		239
§ 197. The Holocaust.....	Gen. 8 ²⁰ , Ex. 20 ²⁴ , Dt. 27 ⁶	Dt. 12 ¹¹ , 27a		Lev. 1 ³⁻¹³ , 6 ⁸⁻¹³	Lev. 1 ¹⁴⁻¹⁷	240
§ 198. Cereal-Offerings.....	Ex. 34 ^{25a} [23 ^{18a}]			Nu. 15 (1, 2a), 2b-16, Lev. 2 ^{1a} , 2b-16	[Lev. 6 ¹⁹⁻²³]	242
§ 199. Libations..	Gen. 28 ¹⁸ , 35 ¹⁴			Nu. 15 ^{3a} , b, 4a, 5, 6a, 7, 10 [6 15, 17]	[Lev. 23 ¹³ , Ex. 29 ⁴¹ , 42, Lev. 2, 6 ¹⁹⁻²³]	244
§ 200. Showbread				Ex. 25 ³⁰ , Lev. 24 ⁵⁻⁹		244
§ 201. Sacred Lamps and Incense.....				Lev. 24 ¹⁻⁴ [10 ¹⁻⁷]	Ex. 30 ⁷⁻⁹ [Lev. 27 20, 21]	245

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

II. DIFFERENT KINDS OF SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.	Classification of the Codes					PAGE
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Deuteronomic</i>	<i>Holiness</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	<i>Supplemental Priestly</i>	
§ 202. Peace-Offerings.....	Lev. 22 ²¹ , 19 ⁵⁻⁸	Lev. 3 ¹ , 6- 16, 7 ¹¹⁻¹⁴ , [15-19], 20, 21 (28, 29a), 29b-32	.....	246
§ 203. Guilt - Offerings.	Lev. 19 ²⁰	Lev. 19 ²¹ , 22, 5 ¹⁴⁻¹⁹ , 6 ¹⁻⁷ [Nu. 5 ⁵⁻⁸], Lev. 7 ¹⁻⁷	.....	248

I. THE PRE-EXILIC CALENDAR.	Classification of the Codes			PAGE
	<i>Primitive</i>	<i>Priestly</i>	<i>Supplemental Priestly</i>	
§ 204. Sin-Offerings.....	.....	Lev. 5 ¹⁻¹³ , Nu. 15 ²²⁻³¹	Lev. 4 ¹⁻³¹ [32-35, 9 ¹¹], 8 ¹⁴ , 15 [10 16-20], 6 ²⁴⁻²⁹ (30)	249
§ 205. Yearly Sin-Offering .....	.....	Nu. 16 ^{29-34a} [1- 28] .....	.....	253
§ 206. The Red Cow .....	.....	.....	Nu. 19 ¹⁻¹³ [14- -22, 31 ²¹⁻²⁴]....	253
§ 207. Leprosy Offering.. ..	.....	Lev. 14 ²⁻⁷ , 10 [11- 20], 21-23 [24-32, 48-52].....	.....	255
§ 208. Jealousy Offering.. ..	.....	Nu. 5 ^{12b} , 13a, c, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26a, 27b, 31 .....	.....	255
§ 209. The Daily Sacrifice .....	.....	.....	Ex. 29 ³⁸⁻⁴² [Nu. 28 ¹⁻⁸], Ex. 30 7, 8	256
§ 210. The Sabbath	Ex. 34 ²¹ , 23 ¹² ..	Deuteronomic Dt. 5 ¹²⁻¹⁵ [Ex. 20 ⁸⁻¹¹] .....	.....	257
§ 211. The Passover.....	Ex. 34 ^{25b} , 23 ^{18b} , 12 ²¹⁻²³	Ex. 12 ^{25-27a} , Dt. 16 ¹ , 2, 4b-7 .....	.....	258
§ 212. Feast of Unleavened Bread.....	Ex. 34 ¹⁷ , 18 [23 14, 15, 17]	Ex. 13 ³⁻¹⁰ , Dt. 16 ³ , 4a, 8 .....	.....	259
§ 213. Feast of Weeks or Harvest.....	Ex. 34 ^{22a} , 23 ^{16a}	Dt. 16 ⁹⁻¹¹ .....	.....	260
§ 214. Feast of Ingathering or Tabernacles.	Ex. 34 ^{22b} , 23 ^{16b}	Dt. 16 ¹³⁻¹⁷ .....	.....	261
§ 215. Sabbatical Year....	Ex. 23 ¹⁰ , 11	Dt. 15 ¹⁻³ , 31 ¹⁰⁻¹²	.....	262

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

	Classification of the Codes			PAGE
	Holiness	Priestly	Supplemental Priestly	
J. THE SACRED CALENDAR OF THE POST-EXILIC HIERARCHY.				
§ 216. The New Moon.....			Nu. 28 ¹¹⁻¹⁵	262
§ 217. The Sabbath.....	Lev. 19 ^{3b} [30, 26 ²], Ex. 31 (12, 13a), 13b (13c), 13d, 14	Ex. 35 ¹⁻³ , Gen. 22, 3	Ex. 31 ¹⁵⁻¹⁷ , Lev. 23 ³ , Ex. 16 ²²⁻²⁶ , Nu. 15 ³²⁻³⁶ , 28 ^{9, 10}	263
§ 218. Feast of the Passover and Unleavened Bread.....	Lev. 23 (10a), 10b-12 (13), 14a (14b)	Lev. 23 ⁴⁻⁸ , Ex. 12 ¹⁻¹³ , 43, 45-50	Ex. 12 ¹⁴⁻²⁰ , Nu. 28 ¹⁶⁻²⁵ , 9 ¹⁻¹⁴ ..	265
§ 219. Feast of Weeks or Firstfruits.....	Lev. 23 ^{15-18a} (18b, 19a), 19b, 20 (21)		Nu. 28 ²⁶⁻³¹	268
§ 220. Feast of Trumpets.....		Lev. 23 ²³⁻²⁵	Nu. 29 ¹⁻⁶	269
§ 221. Day of Atonement.....		Lev. 16.....	Lev. 23 ²⁶⁻³² , Nu. 29 ⁷⁻¹¹ [Ex. 30 ¹⁰].....	269
§ 222. Feast of Tabernacles.....	Lev. 23 (39a), 39b (39c), 40, 41a (41b), 42-44	Lev. 23 ³³⁻³⁶	Nu. 29 ¹²⁻³⁸	272
§ 223. Sabbatical Year...	Lev. 25 (1, 2a), 2b-5, 17-22.....			274
§ 224. The Year of Jubilee.....			Lev. 25 ⁸⁻¹⁶ , 23-34, 39-42, 47-52, 54	274

APPENDIX

I. SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DETAILED REFERENCES.....	279
II. THE CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DECALOGUES OF EXODUS 21 AND 22.....	287
III. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF WIVES IN HAMMURABI'S CODE.....	291
IV. REPARATION FOR DAMAGE TO PROPERTY.....	292
V. HAMMURABI'S LAWS OF INHERITANCE.....	293
VI. HAMMURABI'S LAWS REGARDING ASSAULT.....	295
VII. HAMMURABI'S PENALTIES FOR THEFT.....	296
VIII. THE MARSEILLES SACRIFICIAL TABLET.....	297
IX. TABLES OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.....	299
X. THE POST-EXILIC SACRED CALENDAR.....	300

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....	Page xxxv
---	-----------

CHART AND DIAGRAMS

GROWTH AND APPROXIMATE DATES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT LAWS AND LEGAL PRECEDENTS.....	Frontispiece
PLAN OF THE TRADITIONAL DWELLING OR TABERNACLE.....	Page 155
PLANS OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.....	Opposite page 158
ORIENTAL TEMPLES.....	Opposite page 162
GENERAL PLAN OF EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE AND COURTS.....	Page 164
FORM OF EZEKIEL'S ALTAR.....	Page 167
DETAILED PLAN OF EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.....	Page 168
EZEKIEL PLAN FOR ALLOTING THE TERRITORY OF CANAAN.....	Page 182

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

Genesis

CHAPTERS	PAGES
2 ² , 3	264
2 ¹⁸ , 23	59
8 ²⁰	240
9 ⁴	212
9 ⁵ , 6	115
9 ²³ , 24	59
17 ⁹⁻¹⁴	226
21 ⁴	227
28 ¹⁸	244
35 ¹⁴	244

Exodus

10 ²⁴ , 25	239
12 ⁴⁻¹³	265
12 ¹⁴⁻²⁰	266
12 ¹⁸⁻²⁰	213
12 ²¹⁻²³	258
12 ^{25-27a}	259
12 ⁴³	67, 266
12 ^{43b} , 44	65
12 ⁴⁵⁻⁵⁰	266
12 ⁴⁸	227
13 ¹ , 2	228
13 ³⁻¹⁰	260
13 ^{11-13a}	228
16 ³ , 4, 8	260
16 ⁹⁻¹¹	261
16 ²²⁻²⁶	264
18 ¹²	239
18 ¹³⁻²⁶	86
19 ^{6a}	143
20 ^[1-5]	137
20 ^[4-6]	100
20 ^[7]	104
20 ^[8-11]	106
20 ^[12]	114
20 ^[13]	115
20 ^[14]	109
20 ^[15]	119

Exodus

CHAPTERS	PAGES
20 ^[16]	89, 108
20 ^[17]	114
20 ^{23b}	100
20 ²⁴	240
20 ²⁴⁻²⁶	157
21 ²	126
21 ²⁻⁴	62
21 ⁵ , 6	61
21 ⁷ , 8	62
21 ⁷⁻¹¹	59
21 ¹²⁻¹⁴	91, 114
21 ¹⁵	15, 114, 116
21 ¹⁶	113
21 ¹⁷	15, 114
21 ¹⁸	116
21 ²⁰ , 21	65, 115
21 ²²⁻²⁵	117
21 ²⁶ , 27	63, 65
21 ²⁸⁻³²	117
21 ²⁸⁻³⁶	69
21 ³²	65
21 ³³ , 34	69
22 ¹⁻⁴	119
22 ⁵⁻⁸	69
22 ⁹⁻¹³	70
22 ¹⁴ , 15	69
22 ¹⁶	56
22 ¹⁶ , 17	118
22 ¹⁸	102
22 ¹⁹	97, 112, 137
22 ^{19b}	227
22 ²¹	66
22 ²¹⁻²⁴	118, 127
22 ²⁵	130
22 ^{28a}	104
22 ^{28b}	79
22 ^{29a}	233
22 ³⁰	228
22 ³¹	212
23 ^{1a}	118

Exodus

CHAPTERS	PAGES
23 ¹⁻³	89, 107
23 ⁴ , 5	68, 133
23 ⁶	127
23 ⁶ , 7	107
23 ⁶⁻⁸	87
23 ⁸	107
23 ⁹	66
23 ¹⁰	262
23 ¹⁰ , 11	130
23 ¹¹	123
23 ^{12a}	126
23 ^{12a} , b	124
23 ¹²	106, 258
23 ^{12c}	126
23 ¹³	145
23 ^{13b}	97
23 ^{[14} , 15]	259
23 ^{16a}	261
23 ^{16b}	261
23 ^[17]	259
23 ^[18a]	242
23 ^{18b}	258
23 ^[19a]	229
23 ²⁴ , 25a	138
23 ^{25a}	146
23 ^{31a}	143
23 ^{31b-33}	143
25 ¹⁻⁹	152
25 ¹⁰⁻²²	150
25 ²³⁻⁴⁰	154
25 ³⁰	244
26 ¹⁻³³	152
26 ³⁴⁻³⁷	156
27 ¹⁻⁸	155
27 ⁹⁻¹⁹	157
27 ^{[20} , 21]	245
28 ¹⁻³⁹	203
28 ²⁹ , 30	207
28 ⁴⁰ , 43	194
29 ¹⁻⁴	193

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

Exodus	
CHAPTERS	PAGES
29 ⁵⁻⁷	203
29 ⁸⁻²⁵	193
29 ^{27, 28}	199
29 ^{29, 30}	205
29 ^{35, 36a}	194
29 ³⁸⁻⁴²	256
30 ¹⁻⁶	156
30 ^{7, 8}	208, 256
30 ⁷⁻⁹	245
30 ¹⁰	207
30 ¹¹⁻¹⁶	233
30 ¹⁷⁻²¹	156, 195
30 ^[22]	193
31 ¹²⁻¹⁴	263
31 ^{13b-17}	106
31 ¹⁵⁻¹⁷	264
32 ²⁵⁻²⁹	172
33 ⁵⁻¹¹	151
34 ^{12a}	54
34 ^{12, 13}	138, 142
34 ¹⁴	97, 137, 145
34 ^{15, 16}	54
34 ¹⁷	100, 137
34 ^{17, 18}	259
34 ^{19a}	227
34 ^{19b, 20}	228
34 ^{20c}	227, 233
34 ²¹	105, 257
34 ^{22a}	260
34 ^{22b}	261
34 ^{25a}	213, 229, 242
34 ^{26b}	124, 213, 258
35 ¹⁻³	263
35 ^{2, 3}	106
39 ^[1-39]	203
40 ^[12]	193
40 ^{12, 13}	203
40 ^[14-16]	193

Leviticus

1 ^[2b, 3]	238
13-17	241
2 ^{1a}	243
2 ^{1, 2}	197

Leviticus	
CHAPTERS	PAGES
22 ^{b-16}	243
2 ¹⁴⁻¹⁶	231
3 ¹	246
3 ^{1-7a}	240
3 ⁶⁻¹⁶	246
3 ¹⁷	211
4 ¹⁻³¹ [32-35]	251
5 ¹	90
5 ¹⁻¹³	249
5 ²	223
5 ³	224
5 ¹⁴⁻¹⁹	248
6 ¹⁻⁵	70
6 ¹⁻⁷	249
6 ²⁻⁷	119
6 ^{6b, 7}	197
6 ⁸⁻¹³	242
6 ¹⁴⁻¹⁸	200
6 ¹⁹⁻²²	207
6 ^[19-23]	244
6 ^[24-26]	198
6 ²⁴⁻³⁰	253
7 ¹⁻⁷	249
7 ⁸	202
7 ^{9, 10}	200
7 ¹¹⁻¹⁴	199, 247
7 ¹⁵⁻¹⁸	215
7 ^{19a}	212
7 ^{20, 21}	105, 247
7 ^{23b-25} [26]	211
7 ²⁴	212
7 ²⁸⁻³²	247
7 ²⁸⁻³⁶	199
8 ^[1-6]	193
8 ^[7-12]	203
8 ^[13-36]	193
8 ^{14, 15}	252
9 ^[1-7]	245
10 ^{6, 7}	196
10 ^{8a}	197
10 ^{8, 9}	196, 206
10 ^{10, 11}	197
10 ^{12, 13}	200
10 ^{14, 15}	199
10 ^[16-20]	249

Leviticus	
CHAPTERS	PAGES
11 ¹⁻²³	209
11 ⁸	223
11 ²⁴⁻²⁸	224
11 ^{26, 27}	210
11 ^{29, 30}	210
11 ^{29b-40}	224
11 ^{41-44a}	210
11 ^{44b-47}	210
12 ¹⁻⁸	221
12 ³	227
13	216
14 ¹⁻³²	219
14 ^{2-7, 10}	255
14 ³³⁻⁵³	219
14 ⁵⁴⁻⁵⁷	221
15 ^[1-24]	224
15 ^{2b, 3}	221
15 ^{13, 14}	221
16 ¹⁻³⁴	269
16 ^{32-34a}	206
17 ³⁻⁵	162
17 ³⁻⁹	214
17 ⁷	162
17 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴	211
17 ^{15, 16}	212
18 ³	102, 138
18 ^{4, 5}	142
18 ⁶⁻¹⁸	53, 110
18 ¹⁹	112
18 ²⁰	109
18 ^{21a}	103
18 ^{21b}	104
18 ²²	111
18 ²³⁻²⁵	112
18 ²⁴	102
18 ^{24, 25}	54
18 ²⁶	142
19 ²	144
19 ^{3a}	52, 114
19 ^{3b}	106, 263
19 ⁴	102
19 ⁵⁻⁸	214, 246
19 ^{9, 10}	129
19 ^{11a}	119
19 ^{11b}	114

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

Leviticus

CHAPTERS	PAGES
19 ¹²	104, 108
19 ^{13b}	60, 126
19 ¹⁴	118
19 ¹⁵	88, 108
19 ¹⁶	90, 118
19 ^{17, 18}	133
19 ^{19a}	142
19 ¹⁹	113
19 ²⁰⁻²²	110, 248
19 ²³⁻²⁵	213
19 ²⁴	230
19 ^{26a}	211
19 ^{26b}	103
19 ²⁷	142
19 ^{27, 28}	138
19 ²⁹	112
19 ^{30b}	105
19 ³¹	103
19 ^{32a}	133
19 ^{32b}	144
19 ³³	118
19 ^{33, 34}	67
19 ³⁵⁻³⁷	120
20 ²⁻⁵	103
20 ⁶	103
20 ⁸	142
20 ^[9]	114
20 ¹⁰	109
20 ^{11, 12}	111
20 ¹³	112
20 ¹⁴	111
20 ^{15, 16}	112
20 ¹⁷	111
20 ¹⁸	112
20 ^{20, 21}	111
20 ²²	142
20 ²³	102
20 ^{25, 26}	209
20 ²⁶	144
20 ²⁷	102
21 ¹⁻⁹	195
21 ⁷	55
21 ⁹	112
21 ¹⁰⁻¹⁵	206
21 ¹³⁻¹⁵	56

Leviticus

CHAPTERS	PAGES
21 ¹⁶⁻²⁴	192
22 ¹⁻⁴	68
22 ¹⁻⁹	195
22 ^{3b}	105
22 ^{4a}	216
22 ^{4b, 6a}	222
22 ⁸	212
22 ¹⁰⁻¹⁶	215
22 ^{10b}	61
22 ¹⁷⁻²⁰	233
22 ^{18b-27}	238
22 ²¹	246
22 ²⁸	124
23 ³	264
23 ⁴⁻⁸	265
23 ^{10, 11}	230
23 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴	265
23 ¹⁵⁻²⁰	198
23 ¹⁸⁻²¹	268
23 ^[22]	129
23 ²³⁻²⁵	269
23 ²⁶⁻³²	272
23 ³³⁻³⁶	273
23 ³⁹⁻⁴⁴	272
24 ¹⁻⁴	245
24 ^{5-9a}	202
24 ⁵⁻⁹	244
24 ¹⁰⁻¹³	104
24 ^{15b, 16}	104
24 ¹⁷	115
24 ¹⁸	70
24 ¹⁹	117
24 ^{21a}	70
24 ^{21b}	115
24 ²²	67
24 ²³	104
25 ¹⁻⁵	274
25 ¹⁻⁷	131
25 ⁵⁻⁷	124
25 ⁶	61
25 ⁸⁻¹⁶	132, 274
25 ¹⁰	63
25 ¹³	72
25 ^{15, 16}	71
25 ¹⁷⁻²²	274

Leviticus

CHAPTERS	PAGES
25 ^{18, 19}	142
25 ²⁰⁻²²	131
25 ²³	70, 132
25 ²³⁻³⁴	275
25 ²⁴⁻²⁷	71
25 ^{28b}	72
25 ²⁹⁻³²	71
25 ²⁹⁻³⁴	192
25 ^{31b}	72
25 ³³	72
25 ³⁴	71
25 ³⁵	128
25 ³⁵⁻³⁸	130
25 ^{39, 40a}	61, 126
25 ³⁹⁻⁴²	275
25 ^{40b-42}	132
25 ⁴³	126
25 ⁴³⁻⁴⁶	61
25 ^{47, 48a}	66
25 ⁴⁷⁻⁵⁵	63
25 ^{47b-52}	276
25 ⁵³	66
25 ⁵⁴	276
26 ¹	102
26 ^{2a}	106
27 ¹⁻²⁹	236
27 ³⁰⁻³³	232

Numbers

11-3	78
147-53	188
148, 49	81
233	81
35, 6	196
35-9	187
35-10	185
39	196
311-13	228
314, 15	78
325, 26	188
329-32	188
335-37	188
338b	105
344-51	228

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

CHAPTERS	PAGES
4 ¹⁻³	78
4 ^{4, 5}	188
4 ^{11-15a}	197
4 ¹⁶	198
4 ¹⁵	189
4 ¹⁷⁻²⁰	105
4 ²⁴⁻³³	189
4 ²⁷	197
5 ⁵⁻⁸	202
5 ^{9, 10}	201
5 ^{12b, 13a}	109, 255
5 ^{13b}	58
5 ^{13c}	109, 255
5 ^{14b}	58
5 ¹⁵	109, 255
5 ^{16, 17}	58
5 ¹⁸	109, 255
5 ²⁰	58
5 ²¹	109, 255
5 ²²	58
5 ^{23, 24}	110, 256
5 ²⁵	58
5 ^{26a}	110, 256
5 ^{26b, 27a}	58
5 ^{27b}	110, 256
5 ²⁸	59
5 ²⁹	58
5 ³⁰	58
5 ³¹	110, 256
6 ¹⁻¹²	225
6 ¹³⁻²¹	235
6 ¹⁹⁻²⁰	200
8 ⁵⁻²²	186
8 ²³⁻²⁶	186
9 ¹⁻¹⁴	267
9 ¹⁴	67
10 ⁹	83
10 ^{33a, c, e}	149
10 ^{35, 36}	149
15 ¹⁻¹⁶	242
15 ^{3a, b, 4a}	244
15 ^{5, 6a}	244
15 ^{7, 10}	244
15 ¹⁴⁻¹⁶	67
15 ¹⁷⁻²¹	230

Numbers	
CHAPTERS	PAGES
15 ^{20, 21}	201
15 ²²⁻³¹	250
15 ^{29, 30}	67
15 ^{30, 31}	108
15 ³²⁻³⁶	106, 264
15 ³⁷⁻⁴¹	139
16 ^{29-34a}	253
17 ^[1-11]	185
17 ^{1, 2a}	196
18 ¹⁻⁶	187
18 ⁵	197
18 ^{7a}	197
18 ^{9, 10}	200
18 ¹¹	201
18 ¹²⁻¹⁴	201
18 ¹⁵⁻¹⁸	201, 228
18 ¹⁹	201
18 ²⁰	199
18 ²¹	191
18 ²²	105
18 ^{23, 24}	191
18 ²⁵⁻³²	201, 232
19 ¹⁻¹³	253
19 ¹¹⁻¹³	223
19 ¹⁴⁻²¹	223
19 ²²	224
25 ⁶⁻¹³	55
26 ^{2a, 3a}	80
26 ⁵²⁻⁵⁶	79
27 ¹⁻¹¹	73
28 ^[1-8]	256
28 ^{9, 10}	264
28 ¹¹⁻¹⁵	262
28 ¹⁶⁻²⁵	267
28 ²⁶⁻³¹	268
29 ¹⁻⁶	269
29 ⁷⁻¹¹	272
29 ¹²⁻³⁸	273
30 ¹⁻¹⁶	234
30 ³⁻⁵	52
30 ⁶⁻⁸	57
30 ¹³⁻¹⁵	57
31 ^{1a, 2, 3}	85
31 ⁷⁻¹⁸	85
31 ¹⁹	223

Numbers	
CHAPTERS	PAGES
31 ²⁰⁻²⁴	225
31 ²¹⁻³¹	85
31 ²⁵⁻²⁹	202
31 ²⁵⁻³¹	237
31 ²⁸⁻³⁰	191
31 ⁴⁷	191
35 ¹⁻⁸	19
35 ⁹⁻¹⁵	92
35 ¹⁴⁻³⁴	115
35 ¹⁵	67
35 ³⁰	89
36 ¹⁻¹²	73
Deuteronomy	
1 ¹⁶	66
1 ^{16, 17}	88
4 ²	139
4 ^{5, 6}	142
4 ¹⁵⁻²⁸	101
4 ⁴¹⁻⁴³	92
5 ¹	140
5 ⁶	145
5 ⁷	98
5 ^{7, 8}	137
5 ⁸⁻¹⁰	100
5 ¹¹	104
5 ¹²⁻¹⁵	106, 258
5 ¹⁶	52, 114
5 ¹⁷	115
5 ¹⁸	109
5 ¹⁹	119
5 ²⁰	89, 108
5 ²¹	114
5 ²⁹	144
5 ^{32, 33}	140
6 ¹⁻³	140
6 ^{4, 5}	146
6 ^{6, 7}	139
6 ⁶⁻⁹	94, 137
6 ^{8, 9}	139
6 ¹⁰⁻¹²	144
6 ¹³	146
6 ^{14, 15}	98
6 ^{16, 17}	140

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

Deuteronomy

CHAPTERS	PAGES
6 ^{18, 19}	145
6 ²⁰⁻²⁵	94
6 ²⁴	144
7 ^{1, 2}	84
7 ¹⁻⁴	55, 143
7 ⁵	101, 138
7 ⁶	143
7 ^{11, 12}	140
7 ¹⁶	66, 84
7 ²²⁻²⁶	84
7 ²⁵	139
8 ¹	140
8 ⁵⁻¹⁴	141
8 ⁶	144
8 ¹⁰	145
8 ¹⁹	145
8 ^{19, 20}	98
10 ¹⁻⁵	150
10 ⁸	174
10 ⁹⁻¹²	146
10 ^{12, 13}	141
10 ^{18b, 19}	133
10 ²⁰	146
11 ^{1a}	81
11 ¹	141, 146
11 ^{8, 9}	120
11 ¹³⁻¹⁵	81, 146
11 ¹⁴⁻¹⁶	145
11 ^{16, 17}	98
11 ^{18a}	139
11 ^[18-21]	94
11 ²⁶⁻²⁸	98
11 ²⁶⁻³²	141
12 ¹⁻⁴	100
12 ^{2, 3}	138
12 ^[5-8]	233
12 ¹⁰⁻¹⁸	161
12 ¹¹	240
12 ^[11, 12]	177
12 ^[15]	213
12 ^[16]	211
12 ^{17, 18}	65
12 ¹⁹	176
12 ²⁰⁻²⁷	214
12 ²³⁻²⁵	211

Deuteronomy

CHAPTERS	PAGES
12 ²⁶	234
12 ^{27a}	241
12 ²⁹⁻³¹	103, 138
13 ¹⁻¹⁸	99
14 ^{1, 2}	138
14 ³⁻²⁰	208
14 ^{21a}	212
14 ^{21a, c}	67
14 ^{22, 23}	176
14 ²²⁻²⁷	231
14 ²³⁻²⁷	229
14 ²⁷	176
14 ^{28, 29}	129, 177
15 ¹⁻³	262
15 ¹⁻¹⁰	131
15 ^{3a}	67
15 ⁷⁻¹¹	128
15 ¹²⁻¹⁵	63, 126
15 ^{16, 17}	62
15 ¹⁸	63
15 ¹⁹⁻²²	229
15 ²¹	238
15 ^[23]	211
16 ^{1, 2}	259
16 ^{3, 4}	260
16 ^{4b-7}	259
16 ^{5, 6}	161
16 ⁸	260
16 ⁹⁻¹¹	261
16 ¹⁰	233
16 ^{10, 11}	65
16 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴	176
16 ^{11, 12}	129
16 ¹³⁻¹⁷	261
16 ^{16, 17}	233
16 ^{18a}	87
16 ^{18b-20}	88
16 ^{19a}	107
16 ^{19b}	107
16 ²⁰	107
16 ^{21, 22}	100
17 ¹	238
17 ²⁻⁷	98
17 ⁶	89
17 ⁷	89

Deuteronomy

CHAPTERS	PAGES
17 ⁸⁻¹¹	88
17 ⁸⁻¹³	174
17 ^{12, 13}	90, 108
17 ¹⁴⁻²⁰	80
18 ^{1a, b}	175
18 ^{1a, c}	176
18 ²	175
18 ³⁻⁸	176
18 ⁴	230
18 ⁹⁻¹⁴	102
18 ^{10a}	103
18 ¹³	143
18 ¹⁸⁻²²	104
19 ¹⁻¹³	115
19 ¹¹⁻¹³	91, 115
19 ¹⁴	120
19 ¹⁵	89
19 ¹⁶⁻²¹	90, 108
20 ^{1a}	81
20 ¹⁻⁴	82
20 ²⁻⁴	175
20 ⁵⁻⁷	81
20 ⁹	81
20 ¹⁰	83
20 ¹⁰⁻¹²	82
20 ¹²⁻¹⁸	83
20 ^{19, 20}	84
21 ¹⁻⁵	222
21 ^{5b}	174
21 ¹⁰⁻¹⁴	54, 84, 127
21 ¹⁵⁻¹⁷	72
21 ¹⁸⁻²¹	52, 114
21 ^{22, 23}	222
22 ¹⁻⁴	68
22 ⁵	113
22 ^{6, 7}	124
22 ⁸	125
22 ⁹⁻¹¹	113
22 ¹²	139
22 ¹³⁻²¹	57
22 ^{18, 19}	59
22 ²²⁻²⁴	109
22 ²⁵⁻²⁷	117
22 ^{28, 29}	56, 59, 118
22 ³⁰	53, 110

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

Deuteronomy	
CHAPTERS	PAGES
23 ¹⁻⁸	77
23 ⁹⁻¹⁴	82
23 ^{15, 16}	64
23 ^{17, 18}	112
23 ¹⁸	234
23 ^{19, 20}	130
23 ^{20a}	67
23 ²¹⁻²³	234
23 ^{24, 25}	119
24 ¹⁻⁴	60
24 ⁵	81
24 ⁶	125
24 ⁷	113
24 ⁸	175, 215
24 ^{10, 11}	124
24 ^{12, 13}	125
24 ^{14a}	118
24 ¹⁴	66
24 ^{14, 15}	60, 126
24 ¹⁶	125
24 ^{17, 18}	66, 127
24 ¹⁹⁻²²	128
25 ^{1, 2}	88
25 ^{2, 3}	90, 125
25 ⁴	123
25 ^{5, 6}	72
25 ⁵⁻¹⁰	56
25 ^{11, 12}	113
25 ¹³⁻¹⁶	120
26 ¹	137
26 ¹⁻⁴	175
26 ¹⁻¹¹	230
26 ¹¹⁻¹³	129
26 ¹²⁻¹⁵	231
26 ^{16, 17}	141
26 ^{18, 19}	143

Deuteronomy	
CHAPTERS	PAGES
27 ¹⁻⁴	92
27 ^[5-7]	157
27 ⁶	240
27 ⁸	92
27 ¹⁰	141
27 ¹⁵	101
27 ¹⁶	52, 114
27 ¹⁷	120
27 ^{18, 19}	118, 127
27 ¹⁹	66
27 ²⁰	53, 110
27 ²¹	112
27 ^{22, 23}	53, 110
27 ²⁴	117
27 ²⁵	88, 107
27 ²⁶	142
28 ^{9, 10}	144
30 ⁸⁻¹⁰	145
30 ¹⁰	146
30 ^{15, 16}	142
30 ^{17, 18}	98
31 ⁹⁻¹³	93
31 ¹⁰⁻¹²	262
31 ²⁴⁻²⁶	150
31 ^[25, 26]	175
33 ^{8a, 10}	174

Joshua

8 ³⁰⁻³⁵	93
18 ²⁻¹⁰	78

I Samuel

30 ²¹⁻²⁵	83
---------------------------	----

I Kings	
CHAPTERS	PAGES
6 ^{2-6, 9}	158
6 ¹⁵⁻³⁶	158
7 ¹³⁻⁵¹	159

I Chronicles

23-25.....	189
------------	-----

II Chronicles

4 ^{1, 7, 8}	160
----------------------------	-----

Ezekiel

40 ¹⁻²⁷	162
40 ^{28-47a}	165
40 ^{47b}	166
40 ^{48, 49}	168
41 ¹⁻⁴	168
41 ^{5-15a}	169
41 ^{15b-26}	168
42 ¹⁻¹⁴	170
42 ¹⁵⁻²⁰	171
43 ¹⁻¹²	171
43 ¹³⁻²⁷	166
44.....	177
45 ¹⁻⁸	182
45 ⁹⁻¹⁷	180
45 ²¹⁻²⁵	180
46 ¹⁻¹⁵	180
46 ¹⁶⁻¹⁸	183
46 ¹⁹⁻²⁴	171
47 [48].....	183

EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Text in roman type.

Supplemental and editorial additions to an older section in smaller type.

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Foot-notes, presenting the reasons for the analysis and classification of the material, significant alternate readings, and explanatory material, in small roman type.

Interpretative side-headings, giving a condensed summary of the accompanying text, on the margins in small roman type.

Chapter numbers in arabic figures. Verse numbers in small figures placed above the line. Successive portions of a verse indicated by ^a, ^b or ^c, placed after the verse number. Thus, Genesis II. 4 (second part of the verse) to IV. 6 (first half) inclusive is written 2^{4b-4^{6a}}.

Complete stories or literary units (with their parallels, if any) are numbered with arabic numerals successively throughout the entire volume and are referred to as sections. Thus, § 2 refers to § 2, *The Primitive Story of Man's Creation and Fall*, pp. 53-56.

General Abbreviations

AmRV = American Revised Version (1901).

AV = Authorized Version (1611).

Apocr. = Apocrypha or apocryphal.

Aram. = Aramaic.

Assyr. = Assyrian.

Bab. = Babylonian.

cf. = compare.

e. g. = for example.

f. = and following.

Gk. = Greek B (Vatican) text of the O.T.

Gk. A = Alexandrian Gk. text of the O.T.

Gk. S = Sinaitic Gk. text of the O.T.

Heb. = Hebrew.

i. e. = that is.

Jos. = Josephus.

Lat. = Latin (Vulgate) text of Jerome.

Lit. = literally.

Luc. = Lucian's Recension of the Greek O.T.

N.T. = New Testament.

Old Lat. = Old Latin Version of the O.T.

Origen = Reading found in Origen's *Hexapla*.

O.T. = Old Testament.

Pent. = Pentateuch.

RV = Revised Version (1885).

Sam. = Samaritan Version of the Pent.

Sem. = Semitic.

Syr. = Syriac Version of the O.T.

Targ. = Targum.

Vs. = verse.

Abbreviations for the Old Testament and Apocryphal Books

Gen. = Genesis.

Ex. = Exodus.

Lev. = Leviticus.

Num. or Nu. = Numbers.

Dt = Deuteronomy.

Josh. = Joshua.

Judg. = Judges.

Sam. = Samuel.

Kgs. = Kings.

Chr. = Chronicles.

Neh. = Nehemiah.

Esth. = Esther.

Ps. = Psalms.

Pr. = Proverbs.

Ecc. = Ecclesiastes.

Sg. of Sgs. = Song of Songs.

Is. = Isaiah.

Jer. = Jeremiah.

Lam. = Lamentations.

Ezek. = Ezekiel.

Dan. = Daniel.

Hos. = Hosea.

Am. = Amos.

Ob. = Obadiah.

Jon. = Jonah.

Mic. = Micah.

Nah. = Nahum.

Hab. = Habakkuk.

Zeph. = Zephaniah.

Hag. = Haggai.

Zech. = Zechariah.

Mal. = Malachi.

Esdr. = Esdras.

Wisd. Sol. = Wisdom of Solomon.

B. Sir. = Ben Sira or Ecclesiasticus.

Bar. = Baruch.

Sg. of Three = Song of the Three Children.

Sus. = Susanna.

Prr. of Man. = Prayer of Manasses.

Mac. = Maccabees.

Enoch = Book of Enoch.

Ps. of Sol. = Psalms of Solomon.

**THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL'S LAWS AND
LEGAL PRECEDENTS**

INTRODUCTION

I

THE BABYLONIAN BACKGROUND OF ISRAEL'S LAWS

In the light of recent discoveries, the study of ancient law begins to-day, not with the legal system of Israel, of Greece, or of Rome, but with that of early Babylonia. Long centuries before the days of Moses or Minos or Romulus, the peoples living between the lower waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates developed legal codes that deeply influenced all subsequent legislation. This early rise of law in ancient Babylonia is primarily traceable to the physical contour and position of the land itself. For countless generations beyond the dawn of history, the rich alluvial territory lying between the two great rivers attracted the nomadic peoples of every quarter of southwestern Asia. The soil of this coveted region could be reclaimed from the annual floods, and permanently held against the strong foes ever pressing in from the east and west, only by the most arduous toil of hand and head. While Nature early spurred the mixed, virile population of ancient Babylonia to develop a high type of civilization, she generously rewarded its persistent labor. In return for skilful cultivation the land furnished lavish harvests; for the development of the arts it also provided abundant facilities, not the least of which was the soft clay of the riverbanks, a material early utilized for buildings, for military defences, and for literary records.

Natural gate-ways opened in every direction for commerce. The Tigris and Euphrates with their tributaries penetrated far into the populous highlands to the east and north of Babylonia. On the west, the Arameans and Arabs, the great land traders, carried Babylonian wares to the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and southern Arabians, and in turn brought back the products of those other centres of ancient civilization. To the south, the Persian Gulf opened into the Indian Ocean and commanded the trade of Arabia and India. It is not strange, therefore, that Babylonia early developed a rich, dominantly commercial civilization, the influence of which radiated throughout the known world.

This intense commercial activity explains why the art of writing and the making of law attained in Babylonia so high a stage of development; commerce demands for its development exact written records and the protection of just and well-defined laws. Hence, for more than a thousand years before the days of Moses, the Babylonians had so far perfected their system of writing that it was in as general use as writing was among the Greeks or

The dawn of civilization in ancient Babylonia

Why it was a commercial civilization

Early development of law and the art of writing

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Romans, or as it is to-day among most oriental peoples. The scribes constituted a large and important class in the community. Every important transaction was recorded in written contracts, usually duplicated to guard against injury to individual copies. All important judicial decisions were likewise recorded. Hundreds of thousands of these legal documents have already been discovered in the ruins of Babylonia and Assyria. Obviously, this remarkable command of the art of writing was of great service in the development of definite laws and legal codes. Among a primitive nomadic or agricultural people a few simple customs, at first transmitted orally from generation to generation, sufficed to meet the popular needs; but in a complex commercial civilization, a great variety of legal questions arose and were decided. It was the Babylonian custom to commit to writing all legal decisions; and these became the basis of an ever-growing body of written laws.

The Sumerian family laws

The few popular traditions attributing to a certain god the origin of Babylonian law, throw no light upon its earliest beginnings. Its origin is far older than the most primitive history and literature of the human race. In the legal phrase-books of the later scribes chance has preserved to us seven so-called Sumerian laws; they are written in the archaic language of the very early, though highly civilized, people that occupied the southern part of the Tigris-Euphrates valley before it came under the sway of the Semites. These laws were probably in existence in the fourth millennium B.C.; the origin of some of them doubtless goes thousands of years farther back. The fragments which have been preserved treat of family relations; as, for example, *If a son has said to his father, "You are not my father," he may brand him, lay fetters upon him, and sell him* (cf. for the others, Appendix II). The literary form and themes are the same as those of the later Babylonian and the early Old Testament laws.

The recently discovered Code of Hammurabi

By far the most important code yet discovered comes from about 2250 B.C. It bears the name of the real founder of the Babylonian empire, already well known to scholars through his letters and historical inscriptions, the great Hammurabi. The laws are clearly inscribed in forty-four columns on an almost square block of black diorite. It was found by French excavators at Susa in December, 1901, and January, 1902. Five columns of the original inscription have been erased by the Elamite king who carried it off as spoil, probably from the temple of Shamash at Sippara where it was first set up. Three thousand six hundred lines, however, still remain. These were arbitrarily divided into sections and numbered by the first translator, Professor V. Scheil of Paris, and this division into sections has been generally adopted for reference.

Purpose of this code

In the remarkable epilogue which he appended, Hammurabi plainly states the motives that guided him as a ruler, and led him to prepare and set up this body of laws. He describes himself as the shepherd chosen by the gods to care for his people, to lead them into safe pastures, and to make them dwell in peace and security. *That the great should not oppress the weak, to counsel the widow and orphan, to render judgment and to decide the decisions of the land, and to succor the injured,* he wrote these noble words on his stele

THE BABYLONIAN BACKGROUND OF ISRAEL'S LAWS

and placed them before his likeness. *By the command of Shamash, the judge supreme of heaven and earth, that justice might shine in the land, he set up a bas-relief to preserve his likeness. At the head of the laws is an exceedingly suggestive picture representing Hammurabi receiving them from the seated sun-god Shamash. The epilogue also adds: The oppressed who has a suit to prosecute may come to my image, that of a righteous king, and read my inscription and understand my precious words, and may my stele elucidate his case. Let him see the law he seeks, and may he draw his breath and say, "This Hammurabi was a ruler who was to his people like the father who begot them. He obeyed the order of Marduk his lord, he followed the commands of Marduk above and below. He delighted the heart of Marduk his lord, and granted happy life to his people forever." Let him recite the document. These words betray a benign, God-fearing, paternal ruler, actuated by the principles that underlie all just legislation.*

The contents of the code confirm the implications of its epilogue. The code consists entirely of civil laws dealing with specific legal questions that were constantly arising in the empire over which Hammurabi ruled. Briefly and clearly the given offence or case of dispute is stated; then the penalty or course of legal action is definitely outlined; as, for example, *If a man has borne false witness in a trial, or has not established the statement that he has made, if that case be a capital trial, the man shall be put to death.* The code was evidently prepared for the guidance of judges no less than for those seeking justice. The aim, apparently, was not to present every possible case, but, leaving the more unusual to be decided by the judge, to register the common and typical. Unlike most oriental literary products, the laws have been systematically classified. They are included under three great heads with subdivisions: I. Introduction on evidence and decisions; II. Property, (1) personal, (2) real, and (3) in trade; III. Persons, (1) the family, (2) injuries, (3) laborers and labor. Within the smaller groups of laws, those defining the rights and obligations of the patrician classes precede those relating to the plebeians and slaves.

This entire collection of laws is properly called the *Code of Hammurabi*. Under his personal direction it undoubtedly assumed its present form, and by him it was publicly promulgated and made the law of the empire. He states distinctly that he received it from the god Shamash. The meaning of this statement, however, must be interpreted in the light of the code itself. Some of the laws, doubtless, were first formulated by Hammurabi; to this class may well belong those which attempt to fix a uniform price for hire and labor; but it is certain that the code as a whole rests on far older foundations. Many of its laws are assumed to be already in existence, and not a few of its legal phrases are found in contracts dating long before the time of Hammurabi. Like the Indian *Laws of Manu*, or the Greek *Gortyan Code*, or the Roman *Twelve Tables*, the code is evidently a compilation incorporating many very early laws and customs. So comprehensive and so well adapted to the needs of Babylonia was the wonderful Code of Hammurabi that for more than fifteen hundred years it continued to be the fundamental law of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires.

Con-
tents
and
general
char-
acter

Origin
and
history

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Its influence upon Israel's laws

How far did this highly developed Semitic code influence the laws of the Hebrews? The fact that it was in force through a large part of southwestern Asia for over a thousand years before the advent of the Hebrews, and that it bears striking analogy in theme, content, and form to many Old Testament laws, naturally prompts this query. The question is one that concerns not the reality but the method of divine revelation; for that revelation is as broad as human life and history. The vital consideration is whether the Infinite Judge made known the eternal principles of justice through the minds and life of the Babylonians as well as of the Hebrews? If so, the history of the origin and growth of Israelitish law begins in ancient Babylonia long before the days of Hammurabi; and the code of that truly noble ruler marks, like the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21-23) and Deuteronomy, one of the great receptive epochs of divine revelation through human laws and institutions.

Early Babylonian influence in Canaan

The final answer to this important question must, of course, be based on a detailed and careful comparison of the codes as a whole, and of the individual laws; to approach the study a glance at some historical points of contact between Babylonian and Israelitish civilization must here suffice. It is probable that out of the same peculiar nomadic life of north Arabia came the ancestors of the Hebrews and those of the Babylonian line of rulers to which Hammurabi belonged. A common Arabian origin may go far to explain the many points of analogy between the two legal systems. In the oldest Babylonian inscriptions, far antedating the days of Hammurabi, the more ambitious rulers of the lower Tigris-Euphrates valley tell of conquests of theirs which extended to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Even during the periods when military prowess did not prepare the way, traders, bearing the civilization and thought and institutions of the East, carried on the peaceful but no less effectual conquest of Palestine. For three millenniums at least their conquests continued, until, as we know from contemporary chronology and the testimony of archæology, the pre-Hebraic civilization of Canaan reflected predominantly that of Babylonia.

Later contact between Babylon and Israel

There can be no doubt that the Babylonian culture influenced the Israelites through their own Semitic ancestors, and still more strongly through the Canaanites; but there are two periods in their history when that influence was overwhelming. The first period was when the Assyrians, the heirs and conquerors of Babylon, held Palestine for nearly two centuries in their iron grasp; the second, when the new Babylonian empire under Nebuchadnezzar conquered Judah and carried away to an exile under the shadow of the mistress of the East, the political, intellectual, and religious leaders of the Israelitish race.

Nature of the Babylonian influence

The intricate manner in which the history of these two peoples is constantly interwoven is one of the most remarkable and significant facts of antiquity. That the younger and weaker was deeply influenced by the older and stronger is patent; in the case of the specific laws, however, that influence, though marked, appears to have been indirect rather than direct. Gradually, probably unconsciously, assimilating that which they inherited

THE BABYLONIAN BACKGROUND OF ISRAEL'S LAWS

from the Semitic past, the early Israelites, wrought upon by the Divine, developed their own peculiar institutions and laws; for, striking as are the external analogies with the laws of other ancient people, especially in ceremonial regulation, the majority of the Old Testament laws are informed by a spirit and purpose which have no ancient parallel.

II

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ISRAELITISH LAW

Mean-
ing of
the
Hebrew
word
for law

IN derivation and variety of meanings there is a wealth of suggestion in the term *torah*, the Hebrew word for law. It comes from a verb which means *to point out, to direct*, and this in turn is probably to be traced back to an earlier root signifying *to cast or throw* the sacred lot or arrows employed in early times to determine the divine will. The verb is thus used in Joshua 18⁶ to describe the casting of lots. Hence *torah* meant originally the decision obtained by the lot, and then it stood for the authoritative direction or decision that came from Jehovah and was made known to the people by his official representatives.

Differ-
ent
kinds
of
torah

Since Jehovah was represented in ancient Israel by several different classes of teachers, there were various kinds of *torahs*. One of the oldest and most significant was the *torah* or decision of a judge like Moses, which soon came to be recognized as a precedent to be followed when cases similar to that which called it forth arose (Ex. 18¹⁵, 16, 20). The *torah* was sometimes the designation also of social and moral teachings (Is. 5²⁴), of political counsels (Is. 8¹⁶, 20), and of religious doctrines (Is. 1¹⁰) of prophets like Isaiah. In the prophetic books it frequently denotes the teachings of the prophets as a whole (e. g., Jer. 6¹⁹, 9¹³, 16¹¹, 26⁴). And constantly the wise men or sages throughout their writing refer to their own characteristic teachings that were usually cast in the form of proverbs (e. g., Pr. 1⁸, 3¹, 4², Job 22²²) as the *torah* or instruction. In Psalm 78¹ a psalmist uses the same broad term to describe the didactic poem that follows. In all these passages the common idea is that the *torah* consists of a body of definite and authoritative directions or teachings coming ultimately from Jehovah himself.

The
torah
of the
priests

From statements like that in Jeremiah 18¹⁸, however, it is clear that the *torah* was early regarded as the especial contribution of the priest. The enemies of Jeremiah justify their attack upon him by asserting that *the torah (or law) shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet* (cf. also Ezek. 7²⁶). In its earliest and limited sense the *torah* was the specific decision or direction given by the priest, and ascertained by him, usually in response to some definite question, by means of the oracle or lot or other accepted method of ascertaining the will of the Deity. Thus according to Malachi 2⁸, *the torah of truth was in the mouth of the priest . . . and the people should seek the torah at his mouth.* In Haggai 2¹¹ the people are commanded to ask a *torah* from the priests in regard to a certain ceremonial question. In the prophetic books charges are not infrequently brought against the priests because they have misused their authority as guardians of the *torah* (Mi. 3¹¹, Zeph. 3⁴, Ezek. 22²⁶, Mal. 2⁸, 9). From

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ISRAELITISH LAW

the earliest times the priests, since they were the guardians of the oracles and constituted an established religious class that could readily be found at the different local sanctuaries, were resorted to as arbiters and judges in cases civil as well as ceremonial. According to the later Deuteronomic codes the supreme court of appeal included both priests and laymen; and its decision on a specific question was still called the *torah* or direction (Dt. 17¹¹).

As in the case of the teachings of the prophets and sages, *torah* in like manner became in time the regular designation of a group of technical directions regarding some specific subject, as, for example, the *torah* of the burnt-offering, of the cereal-offering, or of the Nazirite (Lev. 6⁹, 14, 25, 7¹, 11, 37, 11⁴⁶, 12⁷, 13⁵⁹, Nu. 5²⁹, 30). Primarily these rules appear to have been intended for the guidance of the laity rather than the priests. Soon, however, the *torah* or law was the name applied to a code of laws (as, for example, that found in Dt. 1⁵, 4⁸, 44, 17¹⁸, 19, etc.), or appeared in the familiar phrase *the torah* or *law of Moses*, which described the collection of codes ascribed by later generations to the first great leader of the Hebrew race (Josh. 17, 8, 83¹, 32, I Kgs. 2³, II Kgs. 10³¹, 17¹³, 34, 21⁸). In the later Old Testament books and in the New Testament, *The Torah* has become the prevailing designation of the combination of narrative, poetry, and law found in the first five books of the Hebrew Bible (I Chr. 16⁴⁰, II Chr. 31³, Ezra 3², Neh. 8¹). The legal *torah* in its broad application, therefore, included all the directions—civil, judicial, moral, ceremonial, or religious—that came from the lips or pens of priests or priestly scribes.

Later literary content of the term *Torah*

As has been pointed out, when the early priest by the use of the oracle or sacred lot, or on his own authority as God's representative, rendered the decision, it was Jehovah's *torah*. When this and kindred decisions became the precedents by which later judges were guided in deciding similar cases, they felt that they were simply applying Jehovah's law. Priestly editors who recorded the customary laws that grew up on the basis of these precedents, or else expanded or modified the primitive customs in order to adapt them to new conditions, felt, as did Ezekiel (cf. Ezek. 40-48), that they were simply the agents of Jehovah.

Origin of the belief in the divine origin of law

To be sure, the concrete, naïve form in which they often expressed this fundamental belief cannot be interpreted with a blind literalness. The declaration that Jehovah talked face to face with Moses or wrote with his finger on tablets of stone reflects the primitive, anthropomorphic conceptions of God which are so prominent in the story of the Garden of Eden and the earliest patriarchal narratives. But this is only the early graphic manner of stating the eternal fact that God communicated his truths directly to his prophets and people, and inscribed a knowledge of his law, not with his finger on perishable stone but by means of individual and national experiences, upon the imperishable consciousness of the Israelitish race. The process of revelation was indeed more natural and sublimely accordant with God's methods of accomplishing his purpose than Israelitish tradition pictured it; and yet these concrete pictures impressed upon the minds of the early Hebrews the divine origin of the law much more clearly and vividly than a more exact and therefore more abstract statement of the fact would have done.

Pro-
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nature
of
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revela-
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through
the law

For the child now, as for the human race in its childhood, these concrete pictures have a practical value, for they emphasize the essential truth that the ancient laws embody the will and possess the authority of God himself. To some mature minds, however, that picture language obscures the almost equally important fact that the revelation of God's will through the Old Testament laws was progressive and adapted to the developing consciousness of the race. A *torah* was given only when demanded by human needs, and originally it gave in each case specific directions to anticipate those immediate needs. That the different laws and codes reflect the developing moral and religious consciousness of many different ages, the character of the laws and codes themselves is conclusive evidence. The testimony of Israelitish history also confirms the conclusion that the ethical standards and laws varied greatly from generation to generation. Acts like the torture of enemies (II Sam. 8², 13) or the sacrifice of human beings to appease Jehovah (II Sam. 21¹⁻⁶), which were regarded as entirely legitimate by David and his contemporaries, were unsparingly condemned by an Amos (13^{1, 13}) or a Micah (6^{7, 8}). Jesus himself proclaimed the fundamental principle of religious evolution to be, First the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear. His statement, that he came to fulfil the law, that is, to bring it to full and perfect expression, is equivalent to affirming that it represented a progressive unfolding not yet complete. Repeatedly he declared, *Ye have heard that it was said to them of olden time, but I say to you*, and then proceeded to substitute for the ancient law a nobler command.

Origin
of the
tradi-
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concep-
tion of
the law

It was only very late Judaism that attributed all the Old Testament laws to one man and age. There was a twofold reason for this; it was partly due to a mistaken worship of the authority of the past, a worship which failed to realize that God's revelation was progressive, leading upward rather than downward; and it was due partly to the tendency of later rabbis to recognize as authoritative only those books which were associated with the name of some early prophet or hero of the faith, such as Samuel or David or Solomon or Isaiah. The Old Testament itself, as is well known, does not directly attribute to Moses the literary authorship of even a majority of its laws; the passages that place them in his mouth belong to the later editorial framework of the legal books.

Moses'
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to the
Old
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The oldest records of Moses' work, and the history of the *torah*, suggest the great leader's real relation to Israelitish legislation as a whole and justify the title, *The Law of Moses*, so often applied to that legal lore. As a prophet and leader he called the Israelitish race into being; and he it was who inspired it with ideals, moral and religious, of which its later history and institutions were but the realization. There are good grounds for believing that the simple religious principles which he impressed upon his people were but the germinal ideas which, in the school of trying national experience, gradually unfolded into the *torahs* of the subsequent prophets and priests. His own age had no need of elaborate written codes. To his followers in the desert the detailed laws which grew up about the later monarchy and temple would have been meaningless. Exodus 18¹³⁻²⁷ tells us that he gave the Israelites of his day what they needed; and the need was definite, detailed

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ISRAELITISH LAW

directions and decisions on questions of doubt or dispute as these questions arose. From morning until evening the people crowded about him to inquire the will of God; and like a Bedouin sheik or a priestly judge of later Israelitish history, he investigated each case, and rendered a decision. As he thus decided which of two litigants was in the right, he also *made known the statutes of God and his decisions*, and thereby laid the foundation of later Israelitish law. As customary law gradually grew up on this concrete foundation, tradition naturally attributed its origin to Moses. When later scribes codified and committed to writing the constantly expanding body of oral laws, they also preserved the traditions of Mosaic origin. Even though they modified or supplemented the older laws in order to adapt them to new conditions and to embody the higher principles set forth by later prophets, they felt neither desire nor justification for altering the traditional title. The tendency, rather, of exilic and post-exilic Judaism was so to magnify and give graphic expression to the ancient title that practically all of the Old Testament laws were made to come directly from the mouth of Moses.

In the same dramatic manner are set forth the two great truths that underlie the authority of Israel's laws. The first truth is: back of the laws lie the work and teachings of the great prophets of Israel who proclaimed the exalted principles which the laws embody. The second truth is: back of the prophets, and speaking through them and the conscience of the Israelitish race, was Israel's God. The various processes and stages whereby the different laws attained their final form may be traced in detail; but they are of minor importance compared with the supreme fact that Israel's laws contain God's directions, adapted at each point to the intelligence and needs of the race.

The fact that many of Israel's laws and institutions were inherited from an older Semitic past does not affect the divineness of their origin; to receptive souls, however limited their spiritual perspective, the infinite God has in all ages and to all races revealed truth as fast as they have been able to receive it. Hammurabi and most ancient lawgivers not only acknowledged but openly proclaimed their debt to the Divine. Israel received much from the past; but more than this, she developed unceasingly her own gift; her laws take on a wide human significance because they constantly incorporate the ampler principles enunciated by the nation's inspired prophets. It is this new element, reflecting as it does a nobler conception of God, of duty to him and to fellow-men, that makes the Old Testament laws unique.

We have referred to the part played by *torah*; there are still other Old Testament legal terms equally suggestive of the processes by which Israel's laws gradually grew. *Mishpat*, derived from the same root as the Hebrew word for judge, meant originally a judgment or a decision given in connection with a specific case. Like *torah*, however, it was soon used to designate the enactment or law which grew up on the basis of the original decision, and embodied its underlying principle. In this sense it is used in Exodus 21¹ and 24³, as a title to the body of specific laws found in 21¹-22²⁷ (introduced in each case by *when* or *if*) which anticipate certain crimes and prescribe definite penalties. At first it appears to have included only civil laws, as in Exodus and Numbers 27¹¹ and 35²⁴, but in time it was applied to ceremonial laws

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

as well (*e. g.*, Lev. 18⁴, 5, 26, 1937). In the historical books it is sometimes used in the sense of *custom*, suggesting the intermediate stage between a verbal decision and a fixed law.

Other
He-
brew
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onyms
for law

The other synonyms for law are comparatively late. *Commandment* is a characteristic term in the Deuteronomic legislation. It emphasizes the divine authority back of the given law (*e. g.*, Dt. 4², 40, 5²⁹, 31). *Testimonies* (*édwôth, édôth*) is another Deuteronomic term (Dt. 4⁴⁵, 6¹⁷, 20), especially applied to moral and religious enactments solemnly proclaimed and attested by Jehovah. *Precepts* (*pekkudîm*) is found only in the Psalms (note especially Ps. 119). *Statute*, from a root meaning to *inscribe* or *engrave*, suggests a period when writing on stone was well known. This term recalls the divine command to Isaiah (Is. 8¹) to write the essence of his prophecy on a tablet and set it up before the eyes of the people. The practice of inscribing the more important laws on tablets and putting them up before the people was common in antiquity, as witness the Code of Hammurabi, the Gortyan Laws of Crete, and the Twelve Tables of the Romans. The word *statutes* also occurs frequently in the Deuteronomic and priestly codes and suggests that the custom was not unknown among the Hebrews (*cf.* Dt. 27²⁻⁴). In general it emphasizes the importance and established authority of the laws thus designated.

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In the light of these studies, and of analogies among other kindred peoples, it is thus possible to trace definitely the processes by which Israel's individual laws came into being. The original decisions that constituted the precedents upon which oral and customary law grew up, were rendered, (1) by regularly appointed judges, usually leaders of the nation like Moses or heads of families (*e. g.*, Ex. 18¹³⁻²⁶, Dt. 1⁹⁻¹⁸); (2) by military chieftains or kings like David. In I Samuel 30^{24, 25}, for instance, there is a most instructive example showing that the law regarding the distribution of booty, which Numbers 31²⁷ attributes to Moses, first arose as the result of a decision given by David after an expedition against the Amalekites. In addition to the authorities instanced under (1) and (2), we have to add (3) that the great majority of the Old Testament laws doubtless grew out of the decisions of the priests (Mal. 2⁶, 7), or (4) later, out of the renderings of the supreme court of appeal at Jerusalem (Dt. 17⁸⁻¹²).

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the
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There is no evidence, however, that a special legal commission or legislative body was ever intrusted with the task of formulating laws or of collecting or codifying existing customs. This was contrary to the theory of ancient Israelitish law, the origin of which was early traced back directly through Moses, or the *torahs* of the priests, to Jehovah himself. To the priests, as proclaimers, interpreters, and guardians of the *torah*, fell the responsibility of collecting and codifying and also of developing the law. This is distinctly implied in Zephaniah 3⁴ and Ezekiel 22²⁶, where they are charged with having done violence to the *torah*. Thus the theory and practice underlying Israelitish law explain how it was possible readily to absorb foreign elements and at the same time to develop in accord with the higher moral standards and needs of each age.

In the history of Israel's legal system five distinct periods may be dis-

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ISRAELITISH LAW

tinguished. The first is the nomadic, the period which preceded the settlement in Canaan. At this stage the customary Semitic law of the desert, supplemented by the specific rulings of their leaders and priests, sufficed for the people's simple needs. The second may be designated as the early agricultural or Canaanite period. It began with the settlement in Canaan and extended down to the revolution of Jehu in 842 B.C. It was then that the nomadic Hebrews gradually absorbed the Canaanites by conquest and intermarriage and adopted largely their civilization, laws, institutions, sanctuaries, and, as the prophets frequently complain, not a few of their religious ideas and customs. The third may be denominated the prophetic period; that during which the great heralds of ethical and social righteousness impressed their new and revolutionary principles upon the conscience of the race. This period, extending from 842 to 586 B.C., was one of intense political and religious activity. It was in the interval between these two dates that the great moral and humane laws probably took form. The fourth period embraces the exilic and post-exilic times; it extends from 586 to about 300 B.C. The nation rested under the shadow of the exile, and its religious leaders under the spell of the Babylonian and Persian religions. With the hierarchy in the ascendancy, the whole tendency of the age was toward ceremonialism. The end of this period marks the probable date at which the canon of the law was closed. The fifth period is that of the oral law, and extends on beyond New Testament times. In theory the legal canon was forever closed, but in practice the expansion of the law still went on in the schools of the scribes. Until after the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), however, the results of these scribal labors were preserved simply in the form of oral tradition.

The five great epochs in the development of Israel's laws

Until the exile wrought a radical transformation in their habits, the Israelites were not, as were the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians, a literary people. Abhorring commerce as they did, their life was comparatively simple; their own individual and national problems commanded most of their attention. Oral communication being easy, it was not until real needs arose that laws were likely to be committed to writing, or, at least, to gain wide currency in written form. Even the Book of the Covenant, though solemnly accepted as law in the days of Josiah, was simply read to the people (II Kgs. 23²). There is no evidence that more than one copy of it was made at the outset. In the numerous introductions to the laws in the Pentateuch, introductions written comparatively late, the references are chiefly to the oral reception and presentation of those laws. Only in connection with the early decalogues is it distinctly stated that they were written down (c. g., Ex. 24⁴, 31¹⁸, 32¹⁶, 34^{27, 28}; Dt. 9¹⁰); and then the aim of the statement is to emphasize their divine origin. During the nomadic period there was no need for written laws.

The long period of oral transmission

The ultimate conquest of the Canaanites and the absorption of their civilization, gave the Hebrews their system of writing; in all probability, also, it introduced them directly or indirectly to the legal codes inherited from Babylonia. It is possible that certain rules for the guidance of judges were placed on record as early as the days of David. The reference in Hosea 8¹² may seem to imply the existence in Northern Israel of written *torahs* or direc-

The earliest traces of written laws

tions; but the context indicates that they were simply the moral teachings of the prophets, applied, possibly, in the form of laws to the life of the people. For the nation as a whole, oral law and custom undoubtedly sufficed far into the prophetic period, even until the reformation of Josiah, an event which we know was based on a definite written code. And the account we have of that reform movement makes it clear that the *Book of the Covenant* had its genesis in the desire to correct prevailing usages and to regulate the life of the nation in accordance with the new doctrines of the prophets.

Influences of the exile that made the Israelites a literary race

The influences most potent in promoting the growth and study and use of the written law date from the beginning of the Babylonian exile. It was then that writing became the principal means of communication between the scattered remnants of the Israelitish race. The example of the Babylonians and Egyptians, among whom the leaders of Israel found themselves, could hardly fail to influence them. With the future of their race and religion depending largely upon the preservation of the rich heritage from the past, with the temple and sacred city in ruins and the ceremonial institutions in abeyance, the demand became imperative for written records of the customs and rules hitherto transmitted from priest to priest by usage and oral teachings. Torn from the temple and without occupation, the priests had, like Ezekiel, both leisure and incentive to become scribes and cast their inherited customs and laws into permanent form—a literary form which at once conserved Israel's heritage and adapted it to the changed conditions and beliefs that the exile brought in its train. Hence during the period beginning a little before 621 and ending about 300 B.C. with the closing of the canon of the law, the great majority of the Old Testament laws were, it is safe to say, not only first committed to writing, but also edited, codified, and given their final form.

Testimony of the laws themselves to their gradual growth

The character and present literary structure of the Old Testament laws confirm, at every point, the plain implications of Israelitish history and contemporaneous reference. Among the many indications of their gradual unfolding into successive codes is the fact that the same law is often repeated twice and, in some cases, four or five times; a fact obviously inconsistent with the late Jewish theory of their derivation from the one age and lawgiver. Then again, laws dealing with the same subjects as, for example, those defining the rights of slaves, inheritance, and temple dues, are found to stand in a progressive relation to each other; for in Deuteronomy these laws are given with much detail and often fundamentally modify the similar enactments in Exodus 21-23; and in Leviticus the corresponding laws introduce various other elements not logically consistent with the preceding, if all are assigned to the same age. Furthermore, certain laws supplant each other; as, for example, that in Deuteronomy 12, decreeing that all sacrifice must be offered in Jerusalem, is in obvious contradiction to the law of Exodus 20^{24, 26}; since this law in Exodus provides for the rearing of a sacrificial altar at any suitable place and is in perfect keeping with the prevailing usage until the days of Josiah (cf. *e. g.*, I Sam. 9^{12, 22-25}, I Kgs. 18³⁰⁻³⁷).

There is further evidence, of the most convincing character, that the various

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ISRAELITISH LAW

groups of laws come from different ages and schools of writers; it is to be seen in the radical difference of vocabulary and literary style existing between the various groups. When it is also noted that these several groups have the characteristics of the early prophetic, the late prophetic or Deuteronomic, and the priestly narratives of the Pentateuch, respectively, the criteria are at hand by means of which the individual laws may be distinguished from each other and their approximate dates determined. Guided by these unmistakable evidences and aided by the tireless labors of the scholars of the two centuries past, the student of to-day is able to rearrange the Old Testament laws in their approximate chronological order, and, on the basis of this order, trace the unfolding of Israel's legal and ceremonial institutions from the age of Moses to the days of Nehemiah (for a graphic representation of the growth and approximate dates of the codes cf. Frontispiece).

Evidence that they come from different schools of writers

III

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

The original early Judean decalogue

SINCE the priests did not write their history until after the exile (cf. *Introd.* of Vol. I, p. 47), the place to look for the primitive records of Hebrew law is in the early Judean prophetic narratives, committed to writing about 800 B.C. (cf. *Introd.*, Vol. I, pp. 31-37). In Exodus 34, the major portion of which is now generally assigned to these narratives (cf. Vol. I, note § 76), is found what appears to be the oldest recorded group of Hebrew laws. Like all ancient enactments they have been supplemented by many later hortatory and explanatory additions, which indicate incidentally the great importance attributed to the oldest laws by later generations. When these additions are removed the original laws are found to consist of ten brief words or commandments; thus the designation in Exodus 34^{28c}, *And Moses wrote upon the tablets the words of the covenant, the ten commandments*. According to the early Judean prophetic tradition associated with them, they are the original ten commandments written by Moses at Jehovah's dictation on two tablets of stone (Ex. 34^{1a}, 4, 27, 28). In the oldest Hebrew narratives, therefore, they are given the central position in the entire Old Testament legal system. This position is also supported by the fact that each of the regulations of that primitive decalogue is repeated in the same or expanded form elsewhere in other groups of laws. That most of the regulations are reproduced four or five times in successive codes, indicates how great was the authority and importance attributed to them by late lawgivers.

Its probable date

The further evidence of their being the primitive corner-stone of Israelitish legislation is confirmed by their character. They define religion in the terms of the ritual; they come, therefore, from a period long antedating Amos and Isaiah, both of whom defined religion in terms of life and love and service. In common with the utterances of all early religions these primitive commands emphasize simply the cultus. They do not necessarily condemn all representation of the Deity by images. Even the injunction, *Thou shalt make no molten images*, leaves a place for the family teraphim, the pillars, and the sacred symbols that figure in the stories of the patriarchs. This command simply prohibits the molten images made, probably, by foreign workmen and in imitation of heathen models; and possibly the second command in its present form (Ex. 34¹⁷) is a Judean protest against the calves overlaid with gold, such as were set up by Jeroboam I at Dan and Bethel. The first command emphasizes the principle publicly enforced by Elijah, namely, that Jehovah alone shall be acknowledged as God by the Israelites. The remaining laws enjoin the faithful observance of the three great annual feasts, and the sabbath, and the offering of the customary sacrifices according to the demands of the

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

early ritual. At least three of the commands assume that the Hebrews are agriculturists, and therefore already settled in Canaan. Others, as for example the command not to seethe a kid in its mother's milk, are clearly inherited from the nomadic period, and may well go back to the days of Moses. As a whole, however, these ten words in their present form cannot be definitely dated earlier than the days of the united kingdom.

This decalogue appears to have had a place from the first in the early Judean narratives. Important evidence has already been presented (Vol. I, notes §§ 75, 76) to the effect that the familiar prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20¹⁻¹⁷ was substituted by a late prophetic editor for the older decalogue of Exodus 34. The importance of the former amply justified the transfer, although it assigned to the beginning of Israel's history certain principles (as, for example, the rejection of all images) which were only gradually revealed to the more mature consciousness of the race. This substitution, however, was in perfect keeping with the tendency that finds illustration in every department of Old Testament literature. In the light of the higher teachings and ideals of the prophets, the primitive definition of the obligations of the people to Jehovah had been supplanted by one much nobler. Exodus 19²⁵ states that Moses had gone down from the mount of revelation, although its present sequel (Ex. 20¹⁻¹⁷) implies that he was still on the mountain in the presence of God. The natural and immediate continuation of the early Judean prophetic narrative of 19²⁰⁻²⁵ is found not in 20 but in 34; for the latter opens with the command to Moses to go up again on the mountain with tablets to receive the words of the covenant (cf. for the restored order, Vol. I, §§ 183, 184). The reference to the second tablets of stone in 1b, 4b are evidently from the editor who substituted the prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20¹⁻¹⁷. Fortunately he preserved the older version by resorting to the harmonistic method often employed by the editors of the Pentateuch when confronted by two conflicting parallel versions, and assigned it to a later setting. The Ephraimite or Northern Israelitish account of the sin of the people and of the destruction of the two tablets (32¹⁵⁻¹⁹) suggested a method of reconciling the presence of two distinct decalogues. Accordingly the editor introduced the older immediately after this account. The great inconsistency of his theory, however, is left unreconciled; for he offers no hint or explanation why one decalogue was inscribed on the first tablets and a totally different one on the duplicate tablets, notwithstanding the fact that the context clearly implies identical contents in both cases.

Deuteronomy confirms (5^{22, 31, 61}) the testimony of the earliest source, that only ten words or commands were publicly given to Moses at the mount of revelation. This evidence is important, for it clearly implies that when the original book of Deuteronomy was written the additional laws now associated with Sinai must have stood in a different connection. The suggestion of the learned Dutch scholar, Kuenen, is at least plausible. It is that the editor who assigned the Deuteronomic code to its present position in Israel's history, just before the crossing of the Jordan, did so because this was already the setting of the main collection of primitive laws. The only considerable body of early Hebrew laws of which there is any record is that now found in

Evidence that it was found originally immediately after Exodus 19

Original position of the laws now found in Exodus 20^{23-23¹⁹}

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Exodus 20²³⁻²³¹⁹. A position at the close of Moses' career and just before the people passed over the Jordan to enter upon that agricultural life of Canaan, which these laws contemplate, was most appropriate. But in following this ancient precedent for the assignment of the body of the laws of Deuteronomy to this setting, it was impossible for the editor to leave the older enactments there, for the Deuteronomic legislation modifies and in some cases absolutely annuls certain of their commands. Nothing remained, therefore, but to transfer them to the earlier setting and to join them, as now found, with the ten words. This, be it noted, was in perfect harmony with the tendency, traceable from the exile, to associate more and more of Israel's laws with the initial revelation at Sinai. It was, moreover, exactly parallel with the corresponding tendency to attribute all to Moses.

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22²⁰

The theory that the code in Exodus 20²³⁻²³¹⁹ was transferred from a later setting to its present position by a late prophetic editor, certainly has the advantage of explaining, in a simple and reasonable manner, a great number of most puzzling facts. It may be questioned, however, whether the whole of this composite group of laws or only the major collection of case laws found in 21¹⁻²²¹⁰ was thus transferred. The unity of this group is clearly marked. They all deal with civil and criminal questions. They all employ practically the same formula and are expressed in the third person rather than the second person singular. They are also introduced by the independent superscription: *Now these are the Judgments that thou shalt set before them* (21¹). If these *Judgments* were not originally found among Moses' farewell words, they may appropriately have followed the account in Exodus 18¹³⁻²⁶ of his work as judge, but this hypothesis suggests no sufficient cause for their transfer. Hence, Kuenen's conjecture is still the most probable. Their remarkable unity in form and content, and the presence also of a distinct superscription, leaves little doubt that they once constituted an independent group by themselves, and that they did not originally stand in the midst of the collection of ceremonial and humane laws which they divide into two unequal parts.

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The first question to be answered, therefore, is, What were the origin and primary position of the small groups of ceremonial and humane laws which remain (20²³⁻²⁶, 22¹⁸⁻²³¹⁹) after the *Judgments* have been removed? Some later explanatory and hortatory glosses can be readily recognized (*e. g.*, 22^{21b}, 24, 23^b, 13, 15^b); but the majority evidently came from an early period in Israel's history. The permission to build altars and offer sacrifices at many different places (Ex. 20²⁴⁻²⁵) suggests either greater antiquity than even Exodus 34²⁶, or else the less restricted usage of Northern Israel. Furthermore, this permission is one of the primitive regulations abrogated by Deuteronomy 12. There is nothing in these groups of laws distinctly pointing to a date later than that of the united Hebrew kingdom. Their vocabulary connects them with the early Ephraimite rather than the Judean narratives. The early prominence of the prophets, the broader and more complex life of the northern kingdom, lead us to expect that there, rather than in little Judah, legal institutions first expanded and found record in detailed written laws.

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

The ceremonial enactments are but the repetition or expansion of the laws in Exodus 34; laws which are the prototypes of the later and more detailed priestly laws of Leviticus. The humane commands reflect the spirit of the early Ephraimite narratives and embody certain fundamental ethical principles, like those of kindness to the poor and justice toward dependents, which are constantly assumed by Amos and Hosea in their addresses to the Northern Israelites as universally accepted. They represent the early Hebrew formulation of the noble humanitarian ideals that had already been partly incorporated in Hammurabi's code and that were destined later in Israelitish and Christian law to find their fullest and most exalted expression.

It is a most significant fact that within this rather heterogeneous collection there are found in three groups, which stand by themselves (20²³, 22²⁹⁻³¹, and 23¹²⁻¹⁹), practically all of the ten words of the primitive Judean decalogue in Exodus 34. The many and striking variations in order and form furnish conclusive proof that the two decalogues represent distinct versions and not mere scribal transcription from one original. Of course, the exact form and content of the ten words or commands alluded to in Exodus 34^{28b}, and found in the preceding verses of the same chapter, cannot be absolutely determined, since they have been expanded and supplemented by later explanatory notes. Likewise, the initial commands in Exodus 20²³ have evidently been changed by a later editor; for, under the influence of the obviously later introductory phrase (22^b), the prevailing form of address in the second person singular (*thou*) has been changed to the second person plural (*ye*). The frequency of this particular change is illustrated by a comparison of the variations of identical passages in the Greek and Hebrew versions—even where there is no apparent cause (*e. g.*, Ex. 22¹⁸, 20, 23). Conversely, in Exodus 21² the regular formula of the judgments has been changed from the third to the second person singular, because this form is found in the immediately preceding passage. The following table will facilitate the comparison of the two versions of the primitive decalogue; in it the order of the Judean has been followed and the fuller form given. The original *thou* of Exodus 20²³ has also been restored. The first command has evidently suffered in transmission, for in its present form it reads, *Ye shall not make with me*, and the Greek version represents a futile attempt to correct it. It is exceedingly probable that this command was originally identical with the Judean version.

Early Judean Prophetic Version

I. Exodus 34 ¹⁴Thou shalt worship no other God, for Jehovah, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God.

II. ¹⁷Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

III. ^{18a}The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou observe: seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread.

Early Ephraimite Parallel

Exodus 20 ^{23a}Thou shalt make no [other gods] with me (?). The two variant versions of the primitive decalogue

20 ^{23b}Thou shalt make thee no gods of silver or gold.

23 ^{15a}The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou observe: seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread.

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Early Judean Prophetic Version

IV. 19, 20a, b Every first-born is mine: even all the male cattle, the first-born of ox and sheep. And the first-born of an ass shalt thou redeem with a lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the first-born of thy sons shalt thou redeem.

V. 21 Six days shalt thou toil, but on the seventh thou shalt rest; in plowing time and harvest thou shalt rest.

VI. 22 Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, even of the first-fruits of wheat harvest, and of the ingathering at the end of the year.

VII. 25a Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.

VIII. 25b The fat of the feast of the passover shall not be left all night until the morning.

IX. 26a The best of the first-fruits of thy land shalt thou bring to the house of Jehovah thy God.

X. 26b Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

Early Ephraimite Parallel

22 29b, 30 The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give to me. Likewise shalt thou do with thy ox and thy sheep; seven days shall it remain with its mother; on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me.

23 12 Six days thou shalt do thy work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may have rest and that the son of thy handmaid and the resident alien may be refreshed.

16 [Thou shalt observe] the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of thy labors, which thou sowest in the field, and the feast of ingathering at the end of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labors from the field.

23 18a Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.

18b The fat of my feast shall not be left all night until the morning.

22 29a Thou shalt not delay to bring offerings from the abundance of thy harvests and the outflow of thy presses.

23 19b Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

Significant points of agreement and variation

It is possible that the command in Exodus 34^{20c}, *none shall appear before me empty*, is original. It departs, however, from the prevailing formula; in Exodus 23^{15c} it breaks the connection and is probably a scribal insertion from 34. Its content also strongly suggests that it is a later addition; but, if not such an addition, the eighth command could reasonably be counted as one. Even if this change be adopted, the close correspondence between the two versions is not affected. In four cases (III, VII, VIII, X) this correspondence is absolutely identical; in purport it is complete throughout the ten words. Both the variations and the remarkable points of agreement can be explained only on the hypothesis that they go back to a common original.

It is sometimes claimed that the Ephraimite prophetic narratives had no

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

decatalogue; yet such statements as those in Exodus 24³, 12^a, 31^{18b}, 32¹⁶ (which belong to the northern history), plainly declare that it, like the early Judean prophetic narratives, at first contained only the laws of the decatalogue inscribed on two tablets. Exodus 20^{21, 22a} is probably the original Ephraimite introduction to the ten words or brief commands that once immediately followed it, an introduction giving the account of the covenant at Horeb as that account originally stood in the Ephraimite narrative before the additional religious and humane laws were combined with it.

Evidence that the Ephraimite narratives contained a decalogue

While it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty the exact form of the original ten words or commands underlying the two early prophetic decalogues, the probabilities all go to show that they antedate the division of the two kingdoms in 937 B.C. In the light of all the evidence obtainable there is good ground for concluding that this original decalogue was promulgated at least as early as the days of the united monarchy. The character of its commands, and their prominence in all later codes, strongly support this comparatively early date.

Date of the original decalogue

On the basis of the two variant versions it may be conjecturally restored as follows:

Its conjectural restoration

- I. Thou shalt worship no other God.
- II. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
- III. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou observe.
- IV. Every first-born is mine.
- V. Six days shalt thou toil, but on the seventh thou shalt rest.
- VI. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks and ingathering at the end of the year.
- VII. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.
- VIII. The fat of my feast shall not be left until morning.
- IX. The best of the first-fruits of thy land shalt thou bring to the house of Jehovah.
- X. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

Two significant facts should here be noted: first, the persistence of the tradition that this simple primitive decalogue was early inscribed on two tablets of stone; second, the emphasis that is laid upon it in all the different groups of narratives, except the late priestly, which substitutes for it the large body of legislation found in Exodus 26-31, 35-40, and Leviticus. The different prophetic versions only reveal variations that are inevitable when a very early tradition is transmitted through different channels. The early Judean prophetic narratives represent the words as having been written on the tablets by Moses (Ex. 34^{27, 28}). The early Ephraimite narratives state that the words were inscribed on the two tablets by the finger of God (Ex. 24¹², 31^{18b}). The Deuteronomic narrative as usual follows the Ephraimite tradition (Dt. 5^{22, 99, 10}). A later Deuteronomic editor, possibly the one who transferred the early Judean decalogue to its present position in Exodus 34, reproduces the contents of that chapter; but at one point he abandons it in favor of the later tradition representing Jehovah himself as writing the words (Dt. 10⁴). He also adds (possibly following a lost Judean original, or the temple records quoted in I Kgs. 8⁹) that at Jehovah's command Moses, before going up on

Persistence of the tradition of the two tablets

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

the mount to receive the tablets of the law, prepared an ark of acacia wood, and that when he returned he put them in the ark that he had made (Dt. 10², 3, 5).

Elements common to all the earliest narratives

In the light of these facts it seems clear that the original tradition, namely, that the earliest decalogue was written on two tablets of stone, also goes back at least to the early days of the united monarchy, a time when both the North and the South shared it in common. Furthermore, a tradition so persistent must have had an historical basis. The variations can easily be traced to the different narratives in which they appear; but the permanent elements, shared by all versions, are: (1) that the ten words were presented to the people by Moses as Jehovah's prophet; (2) that they were promulgated at the mount of revelation; (3) that they contained the terms of the solemn covenant which bound Israel as a nation to Jehovah; and (4) that they were inscribed on two tablets of stone.

Evidence of an original Mosaic oral decalogue

Of the elements just named the first is exceedingly important, for it represents the genesis of that tendency, which later became so prominent, to attribute the giving of the law to Moses. The second reflects the beginning of that parallel tendency to trace the origin of legal institutions to the beginning of Israel's history, which ultimately led the later editors of the law to associate the great body of the Old Testament legislation with Mount Sinai. As has already been noted, the contents of these commands support the conclusion that at least the majority of them may well come from the time of Moses. In early Hebrew thought Sinai-Horeb long continued to be regarded as the place where Jehovah dwelt and where he could be consulted. The account of Elijah's flight to Horeb is a familiar illustration of this belief (I Kgs. 19⁸⁻¹⁴). Back of the decalogue in its present versions, anticipating as they do settled agricultural conditions in Canaan, there was probably a more primitive oral decalogue, which came, as the tradition asserts, directly from Moses and the mount of God.

Evidence that there was an early decalogue inscribed on two tablets

The third element, the belief that the ten words embodied the terms of the original covenant which bound Israel as a nation to Jehovah, indicates that when the early variant traditions first took form these ten words or commands were regarded as possessing an absolute and unique authority. It is not too much to say that they represent the first stage in that process of canonization which ultimately gave us the Old Testament. Out of a larger body of traditional laws and institutions these ten commands stood forth invested with overshadowing authority. By following their injunctions the continued protection and favor of Israel's national God was assured. What gave these ten words their commanding position? The fourth permanent element in the tradition suggests the simplest answer. It was because they were actually inscribed on two tablets of stone, and in characters which in time became archaic. It is impossible satisfactorily to explain this early and constantly recurring *motif* in the tradition on any other basis.

Excellent Semitic parallels are found in the Code of Hammurabi and the Marseilles tablet. The second example, although comparatively late, is especially to the point because it reflects a Phœnician, and, therefore, a Canaanite custom. The tablet was set up in a temple and was intended to guide

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

the people in the discharge of their religious duty in connection with the ritual (cf. Appendix VIII). The command in Exodus 34^{26a} to bring the best of the first-fruits of the land *to the house of Jehovah thy God* would also seem to indicate that the oldest decalogue was closely connected with a specific sanctuary; a sanctuary which, in the Judean narrative where it is found, could have been none other than Solomon's temple. The testimony of the extract from the temple records found in I Kings 8⁹ also connects the original ten words with the ark and Solomon's temple. Tradition, resting probably on an ultimate basis of fact, assigns their origin to Moses and the mount of revelation; but the varied historical data, as well as the needs of the situation and the spirit of the age, suggest that the primitive ten words were not put in written form until the reign of Solomon and in connection with the royal sanctuary reared by him. The decalogue form indicates that they were at first simply inscribed on the popular memory.

Date and historical setting of the first written decalogue

A careful study of Exodus 20^{23-23¹⁹} demonstrates, after two or three obvious scribal errors have been corrected (*e. g.*, 20²³, 21² and 22¹⁸, where the Hebrew should be translated, *a sorceress shall not live*), that the religious and humane laws are practically always cast in the form of a direct address in the second person singular (*thou*), and that the civil and criminal laws, where a definite penalty is imposed, are always, as in the corresponding Code of Hammurabi, cast in the form of case law and employ the third person, never the second person singular (*If a man do so and so, such shall be the penalty*). The same distinction reappears in the older laws preserved in Deuteronomy, although that code, assuming as a whole the prophetic point of view, uses *thou* prevailingly. The care with which this distinction is maintained is illustrated by Exodus 21¹⁴, *And if a man attack another maliciously, to slay him by treachery; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may be put to death*. The mention of the altar introduces the religious motif with the result that the corresponding *thou* is employed.

Distinct forms of the civil and ceremonial laws

The fundamental reason is probably because the appeal in the one case is directly to the individual conscience, and a penalty is rarely imposed; while in the other, the fear of punishment is the *motif*, and the specific laws are intended for the guidance of judges as well as the people. The civil and criminal laws also go back to earlier decisions and precedents as the ultimate basis of their authority, and aim simply to formulate and fix customs already largely in force. Here too, the indirect influence of Hammurabi's epoch-making code may perhaps be recognized in determining the form of the early Hebrew civil laws. It is in this connection significant that the superscription to the oldest Hebrew group (21^{1-22²⁰}) is but a variant of the title *Judgments of Righteousness* which Hammurabi gave to his collection of case laws. On the other hand, the direct address (*thou*) is alone employed in the religious and humane laws, probably because each command in the earliest decalogue was first given by a priest or prophet as divine *torah*, and in response to a specific question presented by an individual; or else, as the traditions imply, because the first group of commands was addressed by Moses, speaking in the name of Jehovah, directly to the nation collectively.

Origin of these distinct forms

The distinct form and classification of the civil and the religious laws in

Origin
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the earliest collection indicate that, as among the Babylonians, these two great departments of Israel's laws originally grew up independently. Side by side with the ceremonial decalogues, which were in time supplemented and expanded, the judgments or case laws were taking form. The early Ephraimite prophetic tradition in Exodus 18¹²⁻²⁶ associates their beginning with Moses. The *Judgments* in Exodus 21¹⁻²²²⁰ are the earliest written evidences of the growth of criminal and civil laws. By their use of the word *Elohim* instead of Jehovah (21⁶, 13, 22⁸, 11), and by other linguistic marks, the *Judgments* reveal their relationship with the Ephraimite group of narratives. With this strand they are also connected in their present setting.

Evi-
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date
and
history

Their setting, however, gives little aid in determining their date, for, as has been noted, they have been placed in their present position by some later editor of the book of Exodus. The laws themselves furnish the only real answer to the question of their date. Many of them may come from Moses, others assume the settled agricultural conditions to which the Hebrews did not attain until after they entered Canaan (*e. g.*, 22⁵, 6). But Hebrew society is still primitive; there are no central courts of appeal; a decision can be secured at any one of the shrines or sanctuaries which the Israelites inherited from the Canaanites (Ex. 22⁸, 9); wealth consists of produce and cattle; the *lex talionis* is still prominent, though the more civilized principle of compensation is being introduced. There is, indeed, no reason for doubting that the majority, if not all, of these laws were in force in Israel as early as the days of David and Solomon. Their early date is also confirmed by the central place that is assigned to them in all later civil legislation. These facts, however, do not necessarily imply that they were committed to writing at this early time. If Kuenen's conjecture be correct, they were introduced into the Ephraimite narratives (about 750 B.C.) in connection with Moses' farewell. Their remarkable unity (cf. p. 18) also suggests that they were possibly once current as an independent law book. This conclusion would explain, further, why they have retained their unity, though introduced into the midst of distinctly different laws. Possibly they were not associated with the Pentateuch until assigned to their present position by a late editor. The indications, both of form and content, strongly indicate they must have been formulated long before 750 B.C.

Com-
parison
of the
Hebrew
code
with
that of
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murabi

The remarkable correspondence between many of these individual laws and those of Hammurabi, favors the conclusion that the principles underlying them, if not the detailed contents and form, were in part derived from the older code through the Canaanites. They deal with similar questions and assume very much the same social conditions. Out of the forty-five or fifty judgments at least thirty-five have points of contact with the laws of Hammurabi, and fully half are in part parallel. The variations are in most cases traceable to the different spirit and circumstances of the two peoples from whom they come. Thus, for example, there are great differences in the penalties imposed. As a rule the older code, which comes from a populous commercial nation, is much more severe in punishing any infringement of the rights of property; while the Hebrew laws, coming from a people whose

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

numbers were comparatively small, are more strenuous in protecting human life. The penalty for stealing an ox in the Hebrew code is five oxen (Ex. 22¹), but in Hammurabi's code thirty, or if the owner was a poor man, tenfold its value (§ 8). In general the same just and humane spirit is reflected in both systems, and the variations are those of degree rather than kind. The old law of *an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth*, however, still figures prominently in both. In the older code slaves for debt were to be set free at the end of three years instead of six (Ex. 21²); under the Babylonian laws daughters had the right of inheritance, a right which was not granted to them in Israel until a much later period; the rights of widows also are more carefully guarded in the older code. On the whole, the Babylonian laws appear to reflect a much more highly developed stage of civilization; and this conclusion also favors the early dating of the Hebrew code.

The points of close agreement are many. Especially is this true of the laws of deposit (cf. Ex. 22⁷⁻¹² and Hammurabi's code §§ 9-11, 120, 124-26), the punishment of kidnapping (cf. Ex. 21¹⁶ and H. C. § 14), of injury to a pregnant woman (cf. Ex. 21²²⁻²⁵ and H. C. §§ 209-14), of sorcery (cf. Ex. 22¹⁸ and H. C. §§ 1, 2), and the responsibility of shepherds (cf. Ex. 22¹⁰⁻¹³ and H. C. § 266). That the later Hebrew code owes much to the older system seems probable, for the atmosphere in which the former developed was surcharged with Babylonian legal ideas; yet the points of variation are so many and so significant that the originality and individuality of the Old Testament code do not need demonstration.

Both codes seek only to guard against crimes and to anticipate the more common cases of dispute, and thus to establish principles and precedents to guide judges in deciding similar questions. Where a customary usage is fixed, it is often assumed and not restated. Much was necessarily left to the discretion of judges. A study of the Hebrew code in the light of the needs of early Hebrew society, leads to the conclusion that it is not a fragment of a large code, but that the early code, with the probable exception of five laws, is preserved in its original and complete form.

Furthermore, the civil code, unlike the corresponding ceremonial and humane laws in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, has received only a few later supplemental additions. These can readily be recognized. The penalty to be visited upon a son who reviles his father (21¹⁷) was probably added by a scribe who was reminded of this law in Leviticus 20⁹ by the very similar enactment in 15. This, first written in the margin, has later been awkwardly introduced into the text in the midst of a group of laws dealing simply with assault. Similarly, Exodus 21²⁶ contemplates the same crime and is clearly the immediate sequel of 20, 21. The primitive laws in 22-25, which introduce a new subject, may well have been added by an early editor familiar with the corresponding Babylonian and Assyrian usage. The Greek translators recognized the difficulty, but failed to eliminate it. Exodus 22^{2, 3} is evidently also an early gloss, for it separates verse 1 from its complement 4 and contains a different, although kindred, law. Furthermore 2, 3 assume that the thief is killed, while 4 provides for his punishment in case the thing stolen is still in his possession.

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Earlier attempts to recover the original decalogues and pentads

During the first part of the last century the German scholar Bertheau* detected the presence of decads in this primitive code, although he failed to recognize the unity of each. Professors Ewald, Dillmann, and especially Professor Briggs,† traced these groups of ten still further; Briggs also recognized the recurrence of the minor unit five. Professor Paton,‡ by pointing out the secondary passages which had led preceding scholars astray, and by vigorously insisting on the principle that each decad contains only laws bearing on closely related topics, succeeded in restoring four complete decalogues in this code and pointed out several more in the ceremonial and humane sections of Exodus 20²³⁻²³19. Professor Paton also called attention to the fact that the law in Deuteronomy 22^{28, 29} is identical with that in Exodus 22¹⁶, and that it is preceded (Dt. 22^{10-19, 20-21, 22, 23-24, 25-27}) by a pentad of what appear to be primitive laws, all of which relate to social purity and join naturally with the corresponding pentad in Exodus 22^{16, 17, 18, 19, 20}, thus restoring a fifth decalogue. That Deuteronomy is based on the primitive codes, and that it contains certain early laws not found in the older collections, are facts now generally recognized. The assumption, therefore, that Deuteronomy has here preserved a pentad of laws, originally found in the primitive code, but removed by some editor or scribe to whose moral sense they were repugnant, is exceedingly probable.

Evidence that Exodus 22¹⁶⁻²⁰ belongs with the original judgments

Although the pentad regarding social purity (Ex. 22¹⁶⁻²⁰) has, hitherto, been in part assigned by scholars to the group of religious laws, it is clear that it all belongs to the collection of judgments. The form is the same; the *thou* of the current translations of 18 is evidently due to a mistake. Hammurabi in his civil code (§§ 1, 2) provides for the punishment of sorcerers. Even the law against sacrificing to an alien god was classified by the Hebrew lawgivers among the enactments relating to social purity (Lev. 17⁷, Dt. 31¹⁶). In Leviticus 18²¹ the prohibition of sacrifice to Moloch or Milk is found between the laws against adultery and sodomy.

In the light of these facts it is now possible to distinguish the pentad of decalogues which probably constituted the original collection of judgments. The following analyses will indicate their contents as well as the nature of the code as a whole: §

JUDGMENTS

First Decalogue : The Rights of Slaves

First Pentad: Males, Exodus 21^{2, 3a, 3b, 4, 5-6}.

Second Pentad: Females, 21^{7, 8, 9, 10, 11}.

Second Decalogue : Assaults

First Pentad: Capital Offences, 21^{12, 13, 14, 15, 16}.

Second Pentad: Minor Offences, 21^{18-19, 20, 21, 26, 27}.

* *Die sieben Gruppen mosdischer Gesetze in den mittleren Büchern des Pentateuchs*, 1840.

† *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, pp. 211 ff.

‡ *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1893, pp. 79-93.

§ For these laws arranged in their grouping, cf. Appendix II.

✓
Analysis of the civil and criminal laws

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

Third Decalogue : Laws Regarding Domestic Animals

First Pentad: Injuries by Animals, 21²⁸, 29, 30, 31, 32.

Second Pentad: Injuries to Animals, 21³³⁻³⁴, 35, 36, 22¹, 4.

Fourth Decalogue : Responsibility for Property

First Pentad: In General, 22⁵, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Second Pentad: In Cattle, 22¹⁰⁻¹¹, 13, 14, 15a, 15b.

Fifth Decalogue : Social Purity

First Pentad: Adultery, Deuteronomy 22¹³⁻¹⁹, 20-21, 22, 23-24, 25-27.

Second Pentad: Fornication and Apostasy, Exodus 22¹⁶, 17, 18, 19, 20.

As in the Code of Hammurabi, a serious attempt at systematic classification is here apparent. The general order is: the rights of persons, the rights of property, and the rights of society. Within each decalogue there is evidence also of careful grouping. Each pentad is a unit by itself. Whence this surprising order which is lacking in so many other parts of the Old Testament? It may be due to the powerful influence of the older Babylonian code, or it may simply reflect the tendency of the legal mind.

The ceremonial and humane laws found in 20²³⁻²⁶ and 22²¹⁻²³¹⁹, although evidently somewhat disarranged, still reveal unmistakable traces of a similar grouping in decalogues and pentads. The disarrangement, as a rule, does not affect the unity of the pentads. It should be expected, however, that the powerful example of the early decalogue (cf. Ex. 34) would affect the form of the kindred group of the religious even more than the civil laws where its influence has already been traced. The indications favor the conclusion that the primitive decalogue of Exodus 34 gradually developed in Northern Israel into four corresponding decalogues. At present Exodus 20²³⁻²⁶, 22²¹⁻²³¹⁹ contain only seven complete pentads, and 23⁴, 5, which separate the kindred laws of 23¹⁻³ and 6-9, two commands of an eighth. The remaining three of the pentads are to be found in Deuteronomy 22¹⁻⁷, which in verses 1, 3 reproduce Exodus 23⁴, 5 word for word, only substituting *brother* for *enemy*. The two commands in Deuteronomy 22², 3 are the immediate sequel of 1; and the remaining command, 6, 7, which enjoins kindness to birds, is evidently primitive and belongs with this cycle of laws.

Exodus 23⁹ is a scribal duplicate of 22²¹. Rejecting the minor editorial additions, which are readily recognized, the following decalogues appear:

CEREMONIAL AND HUMANE LAWS

First Decalogue : Kindness

First Pentad: Toward Men, Exodus 22^{21a}, 22-23, 25a, 25b, 26-27.

Second Pentad: Toward Animals, Exodus 23⁴ [Deuteronomy 22¹], 22², 3, Exodus 23⁵ [Deuteronomy 22⁴], 22⁶⁻⁷.

Second Decalogue : Justice

First Pentad: Among Equals, Exodus 23^{1a}, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3.

Second Pentad: On the Part of Those in Authority, 23⁶, 7a, 7b, 7c, 8.

Analysis of the ceremonial and humane laws

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Third Decalogue : Duties to God

First Pentad: Worship, Exodus 20^{23a, 23b, 24, 25, 26}.

Second Pentad: Loyalty, Exodus 22^{28, 29a, 29b, 30, 31}.

Fourth Decalogue : Sacred Seasons

First Pentad: Command to Observe them, Exodus 23^{10-11, 12, 15a, 16a, 16b}.

Second Pentad: Method of Observing them, Exodus 23^{17, 18a, 18b, 19a, 19b}.

Original
order
and
extent
of these
decalo-
gues

These decalogues have been so disarranged that it is impossible to determine with assurance their original order. If they followed the *Judgments*, they probably began with duties to men and led up to duties to God. If the prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20 (Dt. 5) is an index, the original order was the reverse. Possibly the influence of this prophetic decalogue, which was esteemed so highly, explains the transfer of the decalogue regarding duties to God; so that one pentad precedes the *Judgments* and the other pentad precedes the decalogue concerning justice to one's fellow-men. The remarkable symmetry discernible in the grouping of these laws, leads us to expect another decalogue; such a decalogue as would make complete the pentad of decalogues in the group of religious and humane laws corresponding to that of the *Judgments*. The later grouping of the law in the five books of the Pentateuch, the five divisions of the Psalter, and the apparently five-fold grouping in the original Matthew's collection of the Sayings of Jesus are but a few of the many analogies that might be cited. A fifth ceremonial or humane decalogue might be found in Deuteronomy, but the attempt to define it without any guides would be precarious.

The
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of Exo-
dus
20¹⁻¹⁷

It is an interesting fact that a fifth religious decalogue is now found in the same context, and is none other than the familiar prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20¹⁻¹⁷. In its present arrangement the so-called *Greater Book of the Covenant* (Ex. 20-24), with the additions from Deuteronomy, consists of exactly ten decalogues. In the initial decalogue of Exodus 20 the same division into pentads is also apparent; the first laws concerning duties to God and parents, the second concerning duties to one's fellow-men.

Paral-
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In addition to those already noted (p. 17) there are, however, serious difficulties involved in regarding this decalogue as originally associated with the primitive codes. Its first and second commands seem to be a briefer and more advanced version of the two laws in 20²³. The prototype of the third is perhaps to be found in 22²⁸, *Thou shalt not revile God*. The fourth is a duplicate of 23¹², *Six days thou shalt do thy work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest*. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth are briefer, more emphatic, statements of the principles underlying the criminal laws of Exodus 22¹⁵⁻²⁷, 22^{13, 16}; the ninth is but a restatement of the law in 23¹.

The
original
version
and its
date

The history of this noblest of decalogues must forever remain shrouded in mystery. Without any close connection with its context, it stands, as we have seen, alone. It is, indeed, a practical duplicate of the decalogue in Deuteronomy 5; the variations in the form of the original words of the fourth and tenth commandments, and the fact that a distinct and variant group of explanatory and hortatory glosses has grown up about many of the original

THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CODES

words (as for example, *Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image*) indicate that each decalogue has had an independent history. At the same time it is clear that both versions go back to a common original. In the fourth command the Deuteronomic version employs the more primitive word *observe* (cf. Ex. 34²²), and the tenth command, that which forbids coveting a neighbor's wife (Dt. 5^{21a}), suggests an earlier stage of society than the corresponding house of Exodus 20¹⁷, which implies that the Hebrews are settled in Canaan; so that, on the whole, Deuteronomy 5 seems to represent the older original. The prominent position of this decalogue in Deuteronomy indicates, however, that it is older than its setting; how much older can never be determined. Internal evidence does not assign it as a whole to a period earlier than the latter part of the eighth century, a time when the influence of the prophets of ethical righteousness was beginning to be felt in Israel, and all use of images in worship was viewed with disfavor by the most enlightened leaders. Possibly it represents the briefer Judean version of the fuller and yet parallel Northern Israelitish decalogues in Exodus 20²³⁻²³¹⁹. Its present form may simply be due to prophetic revision; its basis is perhaps a very brief popular decalogue, intended for the guidance of the people in their daily relations; while the decalogue in Exodus 34 defined their duties in connection with the ritual and the sanctuary. It is important to note that, with the exception of the second, and possibly the tenth command, there is nothing in the decalogue of Deuteronomy 5 (Ex. 20) fundamentally inconsistent with the conclusion that it came, in its original and simplest form, from Moses himself.

In view of all these facts, and aided by means of analogy and imagination, it is possible to construct an approximate history of the growth of Israel's primitive codes. Why the decalogue, from the first and far down into Hebrew history, was the prevailing form into which all laws and precepts were cast, finds its simplest and perhaps most satisfactory explanation in the obvious fact that every normal man from earliest childhood has two hands with five fingers on each. These ten fingers are ever present and suggestive aids to the memory not only of children, but of men as well. If this be the true explanation, a system so simple and yet so effective, is worthy of a genius like that of Moses. There is no reason for doubting that through Israel's first great prophet there was transmitted a primitive decalogue—and possibly several—which defined in ten brief sentences the nation's obligations to its God. It is probable that these ten words were not originally inscribed on two tablets of stone by the finger of Jehovah, but upon the memory of each individual Israelite by association with the fingers of his two hands. In time the ceremonial decalogue, adapted to the new agricultural civilization and to the changed conditions and customs which the Israelites found in Canaan, was inscribed on two tablets of stone, and perhaps at first set up in the temple of Solomon. Naturally, after the division of the Hebrew kingdom, the Judean historians preserved the more exact version of it.

As new ideals dawned upon the consciousness of the race, this primitive decalogue was supplemented, and became, especially in the North, the nucleus about which grew up a much larger body of ceremonial and humane enact-

Origin of the decalogue form

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Growth of new laws and decalogues. All these laws were modelled after the older original, and hence were expressed in the form of a direct personal command (*thou*). Side by side with the memory that Moses was the author of the original ten words, was treasured the tradition that Jehovah's commands were cast in the form of decalogues and pentads. Possibly the priests in this effective way originally impressed the new enactments upon the minds of the people. As new needs arose and new standards were adopted, the priests could easily supplement the older laws by additional decalogues and pentads.

Development of corresponding civil and criminal decalogues. Meantime the demands of the settled agricultural life had made necessary a corresponding group of civil and criminal laws. The customs of the agricultural Canaanites, the inheritors of the older Babylonian laws, were adapted to these new needs and were doubtless, in modified form, largely adopted by the Hebrews. When originally promulgated as a brief code, they were probably grouped in decalogues and pentads. If our explanation be correct, this form was intended primarily to aid the memory, and may be regarded as clear proof, therefore, that these laws, like the corresponding ceremonial group, were probably at first transmitted orally. This fact, then, would explain why all these primitive codes are cast in what at first glance seems to be a very artificial mould. The necessity of conforming to this mould would also explain why some subjects, which are passed over briefly in the Code of Hammurabi—as, for example, injuries by animals (cf. H. C. §§ 250–52 and Ex. 21²⁸⁻³²)—are expanded into five laws, while others, as for example the laws regarding property (Ex. 22⁵⁻¹⁵), though deserving more detailed treatment, are accorded only the same space.

Approximate dates of the primitive codes. It is also probable that the Northern Israelitish school of prophetic historians first committed these civil decalogues to writing. Possibly, as Kuenen has urged, they associated them with Moses' farewell words. Just when they were introduced into the midst of the ceremonial decalogues is not clear; possibly it was the work of the late prophetic editor who substituted the decalogue of Exodus 20¹⁻¹⁷ and transferred the original Judean decalogue to its present position. At least it is probable that the majority of the laws found in Exodus 20^{23-23¹⁹} and 34, were in force as early as the days of the united Hebrew kingdom; and that the five civil and criminal decalogues, and the four surviving ceremonial and humane decalogues, were to be found in written form by the eighth century B.C. These represent, therefore, the growth of Israel's laws and institutions from that early period, about 1150 to about 750 B.C., when Amos and Hosea and Isaiah appeared as the heralds of a new era in the political and religious life of the Hebrew race. To distinguish them from the legal systems of later periods, these oldest collections of laws may as a whole be appropriately designated as the *Primitive Codes*; for they record, in concrete form, the earliest revelation of the Divine will through the life and institutions of the ancient Israelites.

IV

THE DEUTERONOMIC CODES

THE appearance of Assyrian armies in Palestine about the middle of the eighth century and the resulting conquest of both Northern and Southern Israel, not only destroyed the simplicity of early Hebrew life, but also introduced new conditions and problems. Assyrian ideas and religious institutions threatened to supplant completely the more austere worship of Jehovah. It was the series of grave crises arising from this changed state of affairs that called forth the first, and in many ways the noblest, group of Israel's prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah. Their teachings established new ethical and religious standards in Israel. New needs, new conditions and new ideals, therefore, made a recasting of the old primitive codes a necessity. Fortunately the theory and character of Israelitish law made the needed revision possible.

The prophet Isaiah, discouraged by faithlessness and apathy, turned from the nobles and people to a little group of devoted disciples in whom he saw the earnest of an ultimate acceptance of his teachings by the nation. *I will preserve the revelation and seal up the instruction among my disciples*, were the words that he uttered, words full of promise for the future (Is. 8¹⁶). The reactionary reign of Manasseh silenced the lips of the prophets. For forty or fifty years after the death of Isaiah, the old Canaanitish cults and especially the newly introduced Assyrian religion, commanded the devotion of the people of Judah and led them to forget almost entirely the exalted ethical teachings of the group of prophets who had followed Amos. The reaction, however, disclosed the crying needs of the situation; and these needs led the disciples of the true prophets to devote themselves to the formulation of the vital principles of their masters in laws so definite that the most obtuse could understand and apply them to the details of every-day thought and life. The noble results of the activity of these disciples are recorded in the book of Deuteronomy.

The spirit of this wonderful book is prophetic rather than priestly. The emphasis is placed on deeds and spirit rather than ceremonial. Worship is important only as it is an expression of an attitude of loyalty to Jehovah. Little is said about the ritual; and the prophet figures more prominently than the priest (cf. 18). Love to God, love to man, kindness to the needy and oppressed, and even to animals, are the dominant notes in the book. The appeal is not so much to fear of punishment as to the conscience of the individual. The exact penalty for a given crime is often left to the judge. The omission of all technical data and the popular form of the enactments indicate that this book was intended for the guidance of the people rather than of judges or priests. The whole is presented in the form of a farewell address in the mouth of

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Moses. In him, as their first great representative, the prophets are made to rise above the temporal and local conditions that called them forth, and to proclaim, with divine authority and in specific terms, the principles, humane, political, social, ethical and religious that underlay all their teachings.

Yet the codes of Deuteronomy do not represent a break with Israel's earlier legal traditions; they are, rather, a natural evolution. Three-fourths of the laws found in the previous codes are represented in Deuteronomy. Those which were omitted (found in Ex. 21¹⁸⁻²²^{25, 28, 29b}) were of interest only to judges when imposing penalties for specific crimes; and they did not, therefore, conserve the popular aim of the book of Deuteronomy. Although most of the earlier laws are reproduced in spirit, very few are quoted verbatim (cf. Ex. 34^{26b}, 23^{19b} and Dt. 14^{21c}). The days of a slavish worship of the letter of the law are, evidently, still in the future. Usually the purport of the primitive laws is reproduced in the peculiar language of the Deuteronomic writers, fully supplemented by explanations and exhortations (cf. *e. g.*, Ex. 21²⁻⁷ and Dt. 19¹⁻¹³). Often the usage represented by the earlier codes is modified or entirely abrogated. Thus the law of Exodus 20²⁴⁻²⁶, a law recognizing as perfectly legitimate the many altars scattered throughout ancient Israel, is annulled by the commands of Deuteronomy 12¹⁻²⁸, 16^{5, 6} that declare illegal every sacrifice performed outside of Jerusalem.

In most instances the reasons for the new rulings can be traced either to the changed political and social conditions or to the teachings of some earlier prophet. Hence an endeavor to guard against a heathen reaction like that in the days of Manasseh, made it possible, after the fall of Samaria, to centralize all worship in Jerusalem. Amos and Hosea regarded the local shrines of Palestine with little favor (Am. 5⁵, 7⁹, Hos. 4¹³). The lofty ideals of justice and social righteousness that permeate the book of Deuteronomy, are clearly traceable to the sermons of Amos and Isaiah; and its distinctive spirit, that of love to God and man, is the clear reflection of the central doctrine of Hosea. It was this epoch-making prophet, Hosea, who declared that the worship of heathen gods and the practising of heathen rites was whoredom, treason to Jehovah, and the cause of the nation's undoing. He demanded nothing less than that his people *love Jehovah with all their heart and with all their soul, and with all their might.*

The assignment by the later editors of Deuteronomy of all the laws of this noble prophetic law-book to Moses, is singularly appropriate. The public address was the characteristic prophetic method of presenting truth. This is illustrated not only by the so-called oral prophecies but also by the prophetic histories, wherein long speeches containing the doctrines of their late prophetic editors, are put in the mouths of Moses, Joshua, Samuel and David. Indeed this literary form is common in all literature, especially in ancient writings (cf. Vol. II, p. 4). Israelitish history and tradition also united in attributing all primitive laws to the master-mind that first moulded the race. These laws furnished the foundation of the new codes. Not to have acknowledged the supreme debt to Moses would have been unwarranted. It is but fair to say that they represent what the great prophet would have taught had he been confronted by the later needs and stood in the light of later revela-

Their
rela-
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Sources
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THE DEUTERONOMIC CODES

tion. Through all the laws, early and late alike, the same God was making known his will to men. It mattered little who was his spokesman; the laws themselves bore on their face the credentials of their divine origin.

The evidence that the mass of the laws in Deuteronomy are a century or two later than those of the primitive codes, is cumulative and conclusive. Kingship, as well as prophecy, has become an important element in the state (17¹⁴⁻²⁰). The crimes of such rulers as Solomon and Ahab are evidently in the mind of the prophet lawgivers (16, 17). A supreme court at Jerusalem has been established (17⁸⁻¹³). Not only the many shrines but also the sacred pillars and asherahs (consecrated tree-poles), which were countenanced in the early prophetic narratives and tolerated without protest from the prophets far down into the Assyrian period, are placed under the ban (12³, 16²²). Many other heathen institutions that flourished during the reigns of Ahab and Manasseh, are also strictly forbidden (17³⁻⁵). The Babylonian exile, be it said, casts its dark shadow across certain pages of Deuteronomy (*e. g.*, 4²⁵⁻²⁹). The marks of that period are distinctive; the peculiar language and ideas of Deuteronomy are closely related to those of Jeremiah and the disciples who edited his book of prophecies.

The evidence regarding the date of the Deuteronomic laws all points to the latter part of the seventh century. The evils of the reign of Manasseh have become patent; and the prophetic lawgivers take up the task of guarding Israel against them for all future time. The spirit of the books as a whole is decidedly hopeful. Its authors seem to contemplate not the distant but the immediate possibility of reform. The rigorous enactments regarding the punishment of the devotees of the ancient heathen cults, strongly suggest the spirit of the early reformers under Josiah, rather than the dark, reactionary reign of Manasseh. From beginning to end it is essentially a reform book. It seems probable, though the question can never be absolutely decided, that the original edition of Deuteronomy was completed somewhere between the beginning of Josiah's reign in 639 and the great reform in 621 B.C., rather than in the days of Manasseh or earlier, as has been sometimes urged.

That this was the *Book of the Covenant*, found, according to II Kings 22, by Hilkiah the priest while conducting repairs in the temple, has been recognized by scholars since the days of Jerome. The reforms, instituted by the king after the newly discovered law-book had been verified by the prophetic order, and publicly read and promulgated by him, are in perfect accord with the demands of Deuteronomy. All the symbols of the heathen cults were first cast out of the temple and destroyed (*cf.* Dt. 12³, 17³). All the high places, their altars, and the sacred pillars, were broken down; the asherahs were hewn in pieces (Dt. 12). Necromancy and witchcraft were suppressed (Dt. 18¹¹). Practically every recorded act in that great reformation is in accord with a specific command of Deuteronomy. Henceforth until the days of Nehemiah and Ezra the life of the Jews of Palestine was regulated by this wonderful law-book.

Aside from the later introductions in 1-4, and the farewell speeches, exhortations, and blessings (*cf.* Vol. I, p. 42), the book of Deuteronomy consists

Evidence that Deuteronomy is later than the primitive codes

Date of the original edition

Evidence that it was the basis of Josiah's reforms

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Analysis of the laws of Deuteronomy of seven rather loosely defined groups of laws. These are found in the distinctively legal sections, 5-26. The first includes the prophetic decalogue, 5⁶⁻²¹, and is followed by a series of exhortations based on the first command. The second group, 12¹⁻¹⁷, consists of ceremonial and religious laws. The third, 17⁸⁻¹⁸²², describes the appointment and duties of the officials—the judges, the king, the priests and the prophets—in the theocracy. In the fourth, 19, is found a collection of criminal laws. With this group is associated, by community of subject, the law in 21¹⁻⁹ regarding the expiation of an untraced murder. The fifth group, 20, 21¹⁰⁻¹⁴, consists of military laws to be observed in case of war. The sixth, 21¹⁵⁻²⁵¹⁹, includes a miscellaneous collection of civil, criminal, humane, and religious laws. No systematic principle of classification is here apparent. Many of these laws are closely related to those found in the other groups. They seem to represent the result of compilation, and to be a series of supplements added to the preceding collections. The seventh group, 26, relates to the presentation of the first-fruits and the triennial tithe.

Lack of logical arrangement The laws of Deuteronomy are in general characterized by lack of logical order and arrangement, though, compared with the primitive codes, there is evidence of an attempt at classification. Except in the commands of 5⁶⁻²¹, and in a few citations from earlier collections (*e. g.*, 22¹⁻⁴, 13-30), the system of grouping in decalogues and pentads has been abandoned; a fact probably due to the authors' expectation that their laws would be promulgated not in oral but in written form.

Evidence that the laws come from a school of writers It is obvious, also, that the book of Deuteronomy does not consist of one code coming from the same hand; for it bears all the marks of a collection of minor codes which have been gradually brought together into their present relations. The same subjects are treated in widely separated sections; and, conversely, entirely disconnected themes are brought into close connection. In addition to the primitive enactments of Exodus 20-23, many other earlier laws have evidently been utilized as the basis of these revised codes. These, as a rule, can readily be recognized by their more primitive form and content (*cf.* 22). Yet so homogeneous are the phraseology, spirit, and purpose which characterize all the different codes that they establish the underlying unity of the book as a whole. This is more marked and significant than the evidence for different groups of laws from widely different dates. That the different collections or codes are the work of the same school of writers, who from time to time expanded and supplemented the original nucleus of laws, seems to be the true explanation of the repetitions and minor variations in language and point of view.

The original Book of the Covenant Both the peculiar structure of the book of Deuteronomy and the report of Josiah's reformation in II Kings 22, favor the conclusion that the original Book of the Covenant, the basis alike of Deuteronomy and of the initial reforms, is represented by chapters 12-19 and 26. With this nucleus was probably associated from the first the original form of the blessings and curses in 28. These sections contain all the regulations which are reported to have been enforced by the reformers.

To make the new code the comprehensive law-book of the realm, the mis-

THE DEUTERONOMIC CODES

cellaneous groups of laws in 20-25 were doubtless early added. Then, with the same aim, and by the same school of prophetic reformers, the decalogue and exhortations in 5-11 were later joined. The provisions in 27 for the public promulgation and enforcement of the law appear to belong to a later stratum of the book. The entire legal section (5-28), however, was in the present form probably complete, or nearly so, before the Babylonian exile. Its codes, therefore, represent the development of Israel's law under the influence of the great prophetic preachers and editors who lived and worked between 750 and 600 B.C. To distinguish them from the earlier primitive codes on the one side, and the later development of Israel's law on the other, they may appropriately be designated as the *Deuteronomic* or *Prophetic Codes* (technically represented by D). In them is found a large proportion of the noblest and most enduring legislation in the Old Testament.

Completion
of the
prophetic
law-
book

EZEKIEL AND THE HOLINESS CODE

The tendencies in the exile to develop written codes

THE promulgation of the Deuteronomic codes marked the beginning of the reign of the written law. Before that date oral laws and customs sufficed almost entirely for the needs of the people; but henceforth the authority of the written law steadily increased until it ultimately overshadowed *the word of the prophet and the counsel of the wise*. To this tendency the revolutionary experiences of the Babylonian exile gave a powerful impetus. The new conditions amid which the survivors of the Jewish race found themselves, suddenly transformed them into a literary people (cf. p. 13). Upon the work of the scribe depended the preservation of their laws and institutions; and closely bound up with these was the future of the race. The exile also gave its religious leaders new points of view and the changed conditions made new laws necessary. Deuteronomy contained few ceremonial laws; but in the minds of the exiled priests in Babylon the ritual occupied the position of commanding importance. Hence they proceeded to record the customary usages of the destroyed temple, to improve upon these where improvement was necessary and feasible, and thus to develop codes adapted to the needs of that restored Jewish community which was the object of their dreams.

Ezekiel's activity as a code-maker

The prophet Ezekiel clearly illustrates this tendency. Born a priest, probably trained at the temple and familiar with its institutions as well as with the recently promulgated Deuteronomic codes, he, together with other Jewish priests and nobles, was carried captive to Babylonia in 597 B.C. The first period of his residence in captivity was devoted to the work of preaching; but in 572 B.C., near the close of his ministry, he prepared the remarkable programme or code found in chapters 40-48 of his book. It is in the form of a detailed vision of the restored community and temple. Chapters 40-43 describe the new sanctuary on Mount Zion, 44-46 the ordinances to be observed in connection with it, while 47 and 48 give a picturesque account of the rehabilitation and allotment of the land of Israel.

His new and revolutionizing regulations

Many of the measurements and ceremonial laws of this code are undoubtedly reproductions of those of the pre-exilic temple, an institution with which Ezekiel was personally acquainted. He does not hesitate, however, to introduce entirely new regulations. The temple slaves of alien blood, who had formerly ministered at the sanctuary, are forever excluded (44⁷, 8). Also the Levites, the descendants of the priests of the local shrines outside Jerusalem, who, according to Deuteronomy 18⁷, 8 were allowed to officiate at the temple, were now excluded from this privilege (44¹³) and assigned to the menial duties hitherto performed by the temple slaves. Only the sons of Zadok were permitted to approach Jehovah's altar and to offer sacrifices to him. Thus

EZEKIEL AND THE HOLINESS CODE

Ezekiel for the first time establishes that sharp distinction between priest and Levite which was soon universally accepted; but in his code the high priest is simply the head of the priesthood and is not yet clad in special garments and invested with supreme authority as the civil and spiritual head of the community. Instead of the later elaborate ceremonial of the day of atonement on the tenth of the seventh month (Nu. 297¹¹), Ezekiel ordains that twice each year—at the beginning of the first and sixth months—a rite of atonement be observed, but with a very different and much simpler sacrificial formula (45¹⁸⁻²⁰).

It is not strange that later Jewish rabbis, confronted by these and other wide variations, found great difficulty in reconciling Ezekiel's code with their own theory of the origin of Israelitish law, and that they were inclined to regard it as a heretical. To the modern scholar Ezekiel is an invaluable index to the true history of the Old Testament legislation; for his work can be definitely dated. Evidently his code is the successor of the Deuteronomic and the precursor of those priestly codes which became the ultimate formative norm of later Judaism. He is one of the pioneers in the movement emanating from the exiles in Babylonia that defined religion in the terms of the ritual and aimed to develop a detailed series of laws regulating the life of the individual and, especially, the ceremonial services of the temple.

His code, as such, was never practically adopted by the Jewish race. For nearly two centuries more the Deuteronomic codes sufficed for the needs of the struggling community in Palestine. Much in Ezekiel's programme, as for example the allotment of the land, was theoretical, not practical. At the same time the principles that he emphasized, and most of the innovations that he advocated, were taken up by later priestly lawgivers and in modified and more practical form were incorporated in the law-book ultimately adopted by the Jews of Palestine. His primary aim in developing his code in this concrete and dramatic way, was to convince his contemporaries that Jehovah's people would certainly be restored to their native land, and to inspire them to prepare for the return. The later codes, as well as subsequent history, demonstrate that his higher prophetic purpose was realized. Thus he stands, not merely as the incarnation of the dominant spirit of the exile, but also as the man who, more than any other, shaped the life and thought of later Judaism.

Underlying all of Ezekiel's preaching and laws is the dominant conception of Jehovah's holiness. The arrangement of the temple, its ritual, the laws guarding the ceremonial purity of the priest, even the allotment of the land, these all are intended to guard the central sanctuary and the Holy One inhabiting it from coming again into contact with anything common or unclean. Furthermore, these elaborate regulations were intended to impress strongly upon the minds of his readers the supreme holiness of Jehovah and the corresponding obligation of his people to be holy. The vision of Isaiah (Is. 6) is here interpreted into the terms of both ritual and life.

The same conception and application reappear in the laws of Leviticus 17-26; and are so distinctive that this collection has been appropriately designated, and is now generally known as, the *Holiness Code* (technically

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

Points of contact between Ezekiel and the Holiness Code represented by Ph). The underlying thought that binds the group together is expressed in the words of Jehovah in Leviticus 22³¹⁻³³, *Ye shall observe my commands and do them: I am Jehovah. And ye shall not profane my holy name; but I will be treated as holy among the Israelites. I am Jehovah who maketh you holy, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am Jehovah* (cf. 19², 20⁷, 8, 26, 21⁶⁻⁸, 15, 23, 22⁹, 16). A study of the individual laws demonstrates that, as in Ezekiel, both moral and ceremonial holiness is contemplated. The impressive refrain, *I am Jehovah*, is repeated forty-six times and is one of many common characteristics that distinguish these laws. The same expression is also found seventy-eight times in Ezekiel, and not once in the writings of his earlier contemporaries, Isaiah and Jeremiah. There are many other striking points of contact both in vocabulary and idiom. The unusual formula beginning, *Every man of the house of Israel* (Lev. 17³, 8, 10, 13, 15), is found nowhere else in the Old Testament except in Ezekiel, where it is very common (e. g., Ezek. 14⁴, 7, 8, 44^{10, 12}). The social crimes especially prohibited in the Holiness Code (e. g., 18⁸, 20¹⁰⁻¹², 17, 19¹³, 15, 36, 20⁹, 21¹⁻⁵),* are denounced by Ezekiel in terms almost identical (e. g., 22¹⁰, 11, 18⁷, 8, 12, 16, 33¹⁵, 25, 45¹⁰, 22⁷, 44²⁵, 20). A like emphasis is also laid on the sanctity of the temple (cf. Lev. 19³⁰, 20³, 21¹², 23, 26² and Ezek. 5¹¹, 8⁶, 23³⁸, 39). Both seek to guard the priesthood from all possible defilement. Thus in language, thought, and purpose, Ezekiel and the laws of the Holiness Code are bound together by closest ties.

The points of contact are so many and so fundamental that they can be explained only on the assumption of a vital connection between the two. At the same time minor variations in vocabulary and representation indicate that Ezekiel was not the author of both. Thus, for example, the Holiness Code knows nothing of his distinction between the priests and Levites. It also sanctions, except in the case of the high priest (Lev. 21¹⁴), the marriage of priests with widows, a practice which Ezekiel condemns (44²²). A detailed comparison of the two systems leads to the conclusion that both come from the same priestly circles and approximately the same date, but that Ezekiel was acquainted with the major portion of the laws in the Holiness Code.

In its present form the Holiness Code consists of ten or eleven groups of laws, which have evidently been disarranged at several points or else disturbed by insertions made by later priestly editors. The first group, 17³⁻¹⁶, includes a pentad of much expanded laws regarding the slaughter of animals and sacrifice. All except the last are introduced by the peculiar formula, *Every man of the house of Israel* (3, 8, 10, 13). The completion of this decalogue is perhaps to be found in 18³, 4, a passage which contains a group of brief commands emphasizing the duty of faithful allegiance to Jehovah. The next section, 18⁶⁻³⁰, embraces, as Professor Paton has pointed out,† two decalogues regarding purity in the social relations. Here, as in 19, the formula, *I am Jehovah*, marks the end of each pentad. The following indicates the method of classification:

* For a detailed comparison of vocabulary, literary style and teachings, cf. Carpenter and Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, I, 147-51.

† Jour. of Bib. Lit., 1897, Vol. XVI, 31 ff.

EZEKIEL AND THE HOLINESS CODE

First Decalogue : Purity in Those Related through Parents and Children

First Pentad: Kinship of the First Degree, Leviticus 18^{6, 7, 8, 9, 10}.

Second Pentad: Kinship of the Second Degree, 18^{11, 12, 13, 14, 15}.

Second Decalogue : Purity in Remoter Relationship

First Pentad: Relationship through Marriage, 18^{16, 17a, 17b, 18, 19}.

Second Pentad: Outside the Family, 18^{20, 21, 22, 23a, 23b}.

The remaining verses of chapter 18 (24-30) contain a concluding exhortation; this, as a whole, is probably from the original editor of the code, but at several points is supplemented by a later priest.

Leviticus 19 contains a large group of laws regarding religious, moral, and ceremonial duties. Those in 2-8 have evidently been disarranged. They are in part parallel to the prophetic decalogue of Exodus 20²⁻¹⁷. The parallel is still more complete if the dislocated fragment in 24^{15b-22} be combined with 19²⁻⁸. Possibly they represent the remnants of an original decalogue. Furthermore, if 35 be transferred to its logical position after 11a, two complete decalogues and one pentad of a third decalogue, are to be found in 9-18. The end of each pentad is again marked by the formula, *I am Jehovah*. The analysis is as follows:

First Decalogue : Duties to Others

First Pentad: Kindness to the Needy, 19^{9a, 9b, 10a, 10b, 10c}.

Second Pentad: Honesty in Business Relations, 19^{11a, 35, 11b, 11c, 12}.

Second Decalogue : Laws against Injustice

First Pentad: Toward Dependents, 19^{13a, 13b, 13c, 14a, 14b}.

Second Pentad: In Legal Matters, 19^{15a, 15b, 15c, 16a, 16b}.

Third Decalogue : Laws against Unkindness

First Pentad: In the Heart, 17a, 17b, 18a, 19a, 19b.

It is in this last pentad that the Old Testament legislation reaches its noblest expression: one of its commands, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*, is exalted by Jesus to a position of transcendent authority. Remnants of the second pentad, which probably dealt with unkindness to the helpless, are perhaps to be found in 19^{33, 34}, *An alien . . . in your land ye shall not wrong. Thou shalt love him as thyself*. Leviticus 19¹⁹ contains three laws against the mixing of dissimilar things. Duplicate versions of these are found in Deuteronomy 22⁹⁻¹¹. In the same context, 5, 12, are found the remaining two laws of this pentad. One of them has, for some unknown reason, been removed from its natural connection in Leviticus 19 and is now found in Numbers 15³⁷⁻⁴¹. This section has all the characteristics of the Holiness Code and was probably once a part of it. The second pentad of this decalogue is now to be found in 26-28; but in 20-25 several incongruous laws regarding

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

illicit relations between a free man and a betrothed slave and the eating of the fruit of young trees, have been introduced. The following appears to have been the original form of the laws:

Decalogue concerning Prohibited Practices

First Pentad: Mingling of Dissimilar Things (Dt. 22⁵), Leviticus 19^{1b}, 19c, 19d, Numbers 15³⁷⁻⁴¹.

Second Pentad: Imitation of Heathen Practices, Leviticus 19^{26a}, 26b, 27, 28a, 28b.

The remainder of the chapter, 29-37, contains a composite of social and humane laws.

Analysis of
Leviticus
20-25

Leviticus 20²⁻⁷, 27 prescribes the penalty to be imposed for apostasy and necromancy, while 20⁸⁻²⁶ contains a group of laws regarding chastity and ceremonial purity which are closely parallel to those in 18. The former passage (20²⁻⁷) prescribes the penalties; in 18 the crimes are simply prohibited. Each group also employs different formulas and follows slightly different systems of classification. The laws in 18 are simpler, more homogeneous, and cast in the decalogue and pentad form, facts which indicate that these laws are probably much older than their present setting. Leviticus 21¹⁻²²¹⁶ contains the laws regarding the priests; 22²¹⁻³² defines the animals suitable for sacrifice. Most of Leviticus 23 is evidently from a later priest, but in 10-20, 39-42 are found certain early regulations regarding the observation of the feasts of unleavened bread, weeks, and tabernacles. As has already been noted (p. 39), the detached group of criminal laws in 24^{15b-22} evidently belong with 19. The rest of 24 is from a later priestly source. The original humane laws in 25 (2b-7, 14, 17-22, 24, 25, 35-40a, 43, 47, 53, 55b) which aim through the institution of the Sabbatical and year of jubilee to relieve the unfortunate and needy, are also closely related to the other regulations of the Holiness Code. The many late priestly supplements are readily recognized.

Leviticus
26

The concluding chapter (26) emphasizes, in the form of a hortatory address, the fundamental duty of loyalty to Jehovah and his commands. In thought and spirit this chapter closely resembles the concluding exhortations of Deuteronomy. The evils that will follow disobedience are solemnly pointed out; and in 30-39 a vivid picture is given of the horrors of exile. This is followed in 40-45 by the prospect of a restoration, if the people repent. The promise, however, is not nearly so definite or detailed as that contained in Ezekiel 40-48. The Holiness Code also has its own concluding formula (46) indicating clearly that it was once a complete and independent collection: *These are the statutes and judgments and laws which Jehovah made between himself and the Israelites on Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses.*

Real
character
of the
Holiness
Code

The concluding exhortations, as well as the many civil, criminal and humane laws, demonstrate that this remarkable code was more than a manual for the use of priests. Like Deuteronomy, it was evidently intended to be a book for the people. As in Deuteronomy, the penalties are few, the appeal is to the individual conscience, and, in many sections, the direct second person singular, *Thou*, is employed. In contrast with the later priestly codes,

EZEKIEL AND THE HOLINESS CODE

it has many other fundamental points of contact with the laws of Deuteronomy. It emphasizes the obligation to offer sacrifices only at Jerusalem and manifests the same uncompromising hostility to all heathen cults (17³⁻⁷, 19⁴, 30, 20¹⁻⁸, 26¹). It makes no reference to the later sin-offerings and knows of only two kinds of animal sacrifice, the burnt-offering and the ordinary sacrifice. Its system of feasts is simple, corresponding closely to those in Deuteronomy and the early prophetic narratives. For these feasts no fixed date has yet been established. The spring feast is still simply a harvest festival and the later stern day of atonement is unknown.

In the Holiness Code the humane element is also very prominent. The spirit of the prophet pervades it. In this respect it is a worthy companion piece and sequel of Deuteronomy. At the same time the interest in the ritual is more marked and the point of view of the priest is constantly revealed. It is a remarkable blending of these two very different *motifs*. In subject-matter and aim it stands midway between the prophetic codes of Deuteronomy, and the priestly codes of Ezekiel and the later writers who place the emphasis chiefly upon the ceremonial.

In its original unity, before supplemented by the late priestly additions that were intended to bring it into conformity with the later point of view, the Holiness Code stands, also, in point of time between the Deuteronomic codes and that of Ezekiel. It bears the marks of the Babylonian exile; and yet there is everywhere apparent an intimate acquaintance with the life of the pre-exilic Judean state. Likewise, Ezekiel's sermons, delivered before the final destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., reveal in language, ideas, and aims, an intimate familiarity with the majority of its laws. It is probable, therefore, that the original draft of this code was made between the first and final captivity (597-586 B.C.), a period in which the more enlightened leaders, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, saw clearly that the state was doomed, and that Israel's laws and institutions, if they were to be preserved, must be put into written form.

The presence of many duplicate versions of the same law, the primitive nature of certain of the regulations, the frequent points of contact with the early codes in Exodus 20²³⁻²³¹⁹, and the pentad and decalogue structure of several groups of laws, strongly suggest that the work of the exilic editor was largely the work of a compiler, and that many of its enactments come from a much earlier period in Hebrew history. This is especially true of the simple decalogues in 17-19. Their structure indicates that they were originally intended to be orally transmitted. They are apparently the Judean counterparts of the Northern Israelitish *Judgments* and of the religious and humane laws in Exodus 20²³⁻²³¹⁹. Their roots are probably to be traced to the Mosaic and nomadic periods of Israelitish history. In their pentad and decalogue form, however, they assume the settled agricultural life of Palestine. Furthermore, the majority of them reflect the ethical teachings of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. It is therefore probable that they were not promulgated before the latter part of that century. Some of them, as for example those in 17¹⁻¹⁸⁵, cannot be earlier than the age of Deuteronomy. The remainder of the original Holiness Code apparently

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

records the standards and ceremonial usages in vogue in Judah during the half century immediately before the exile; although many of them doubtless reflect customs as old as the Hebrew race. Thus, as in the case of every Old Testament code, a majority of the laws are much older than the date of the collection in which they are at present found; hence, it may truly be said that the later Jewish traditions which aim to emphasize the antiquity of Israel's laws are not without a large and substantial basis in fact.

VI

THE PRIESTLY CODES

FOR at least two centuries after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the influences that had led Ezekiel and the author or authors of the Holiness Code to develop their legal systems, continued to bear abundant fruit. The result is a large body of heterogeneous regulations and traditional precedents, now scattered through Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, but all sharing certain marked characteristics which distinguish them sharply from Israel's earlier laws. The first characteristic is that they all, with the exception of Numbers 27¹⁻¹¹, 35 and 36, relate to ceremonial observances. Thus at once are revealed the point of view of the priest and the dominant interest of exilic and post-exilic Judaism. These priestly laws represent the bridge over which the Israelitish race passed from the highly ethical and spiritual religion of the pre-exilic prophets to the rigorous ritualism of the scribes and Pharisees.

Throughout, these laws assume the belief in one supreme Deity, worshipped by his people at one central sanctuary. Though written, as most of them are, from the point of view of the wilderness, they ignore the unequivocal testimony of the earlier historical records, and assume that the institutions which developed in the later days of the kingdom or grew out of the changed conditions of the exile, were in full force in the age of Moses. In this belief they share again the peculiar point of view of later Judaism. Like the Chronicler (cf. Vol. II, pp. 27, 28), they have, in their passionate love for the temple and its ritual, lost the historical perspective, and project back on the barren canvas of the wilderness the priestly ideals which fill their minds.

Their vocabulary and conception of the ritual, as compared with those of the pre-exilic lawgivers, have also undergone a fundamental transformation. Thus, for example, the earlier word for sacrificial gift (*minhah*), a word that signified both vegetable and animal offerings, is used fully ninety times, but always with the restricted meaning of *cereal-offering*. Likewise, the pre-exilic forms of sacrifice in which the individual offerers prominently participate, fall into the background; and in the later priestly codes practically all the sacrifices, with the exception of the sin-offering, are public and under the charge of the priests and Levites. Whole burnt-offerings, of which all or the greater part of the animal is consumed or given to the priestly representatives of Jehovah, take the place of those earlier sacrificial feasts in which only a small part was burnt and the major portion eaten by the offerer, his family and dependents, and the poor Levites. The ancient festivals cease to be joyous feasts closely connected with the harvests, and become solemn religious assemblies celebrated at fixed dates and with only slightly varying public

Growth of later ceremonial laws

Their peculiar point of view

Wide variations from the earlier codes

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

sacrifices. Certain new festivals, like the day of atonement, and certain new offerings, like the sin-offering, appear in these later laws. All these new ideas and institutions are the outgrowth of the sense of guilt impressed by the exile upon the consciousness of the race. These increased forms and sacrifices indicate also an ardent desire to attain a ceremonial purity more worthy of the favor of the Holy One. The separation between the priesthood and the laity, slight indeed in the earliest period, is now complete; and the distinction between priest and Levite, first made by Ezekiel, is now absolute; each class of temple ministers, moreover, have defined for them in detail their rights and limitations.

These radical distinctions evince the real animus of the later priestly law-givers. Like Ezekiel and the authors of the Holiness Code, on the one hand, they were uplifted by an awful sense of the holiness and majesty of Jehovah; and on the other hand, like all their race after the great calamity of 586 B.C., they were crushed with a sense of national guilt. As individuals they were conscious of no great sins, but their race as a whole seemed to lie, rejected and polluted, under the dark shadow of Jehovah's displeasure. The prophetic doctrine of personal righteousness seemed inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. The priest, therefore, influenced by all the precedents of the past, by the example of the Babylonians and other contemporary nations and by the traditions of their own class, sought relief through the ritual. Forthwith they set to work to purge their ritual of its unworthy heathen elements, to elaborate it in such manner that it might prove adequate to the great need, to guard it by carefully formulated laws from all irregularity or perversion, and finally, so to establish its divine authority that the faithful observation of each regulation would be assured.

Studied in the light of these common aims, the various priestly laws possess a real unity. At the same time the evidence indicates clearly that they come not from one but several hands, during a period of a century or two; for within the priestly codes themselves there are repetitions of particular laws in the same or different forms. Leviticus 6⁸⁻⁷³⁸, for example, covers practically the same ground as chapters 1-5; and in some cases laws that appear to be late supplant or modify or supplement older regulations. The present structure of the priestly codes indicates, moreover, that they are made up of originally distinct, sometimes very loosely co-ordinated, groups of laws.

Such a group is found in Leviticus 1-3, 5-7, 11-15, Numbers 5, 6, 15 and 19¹⁴⁻²². It is distinguished from all other groups by the presence of such introductory or closing formulæ as: *This is the torah of the burnt-offering* (Lev. 6⁹), or *of the cereal-offering* (Lev. 6¹⁴), or *of the guilt-offering* (cf. also Lev. 6²⁵, 7¹¹, 11⁴⁶, 12⁷, 14¹, 5⁴, 15³², Nu. 5²⁹, 6²¹, 19¹⁴). This collection of laws is evidently a manual for the guidance of priests and worshippers in the discharge of their sacrificial obligations. It deals with the different kinds of sacrifice, the distinctions between clean and unclean, the rules of observance for priests and people, and the duties of those assuming the Nazirite vow. The majority of these laws are evidently based on *tôrôth* or decisions rendered by the priests (hence for the group the technical designation P^t). The frequently recurring phrase, *according to the ordinance* (e. g., Lev. 5¹⁰, Nu. 15²⁴),

THE PRIESTLY CODES

also suggests that many of these laws simply reproduce established (possibly earlier documentary) regulations of the pre-exilic temple.

In language and theme the priestly directions are rather closely related both to each other and to the Holiness Code. They have been revised at certain points and adapted to the priestly point of view; but in their oldest form they were apparently associated with the pre-exilic tent of meeting, not with the late priestly dwelling or tabernacle. Furthermore, occasional traces of pentads strengthen the conclusion that this group of laws, like the Holiness Code, has as its nucleus certain pre-exilic priestly regulations. These earliest regulations have been supplemented by formularies of customs that had gradually grown up about the temple, and by rules of procedure given by older priests for the guidance of their younger colleagues and for worshippers. The changed conditions of the exile led to further revision and supplementing, until these priestly directions attained their present form. To date them exactly is impossible. The older pentads probably go back to the days of the two Hebrew kingdoms, and, in many cases, doubtless reflect still earlier customs. The final formulation of the laws as a whole cannot, however, be dated before the earlier part of the exile. They were probably joined to the other priestly codes at a considerably later date; for they have no organic connection with their context nor with the historical framework that furnishes the setting for most of the later laws.

The groundwork of the priestly codes (technically known as P^g) consists (1) of an historical introduction to the Old Testament laws as a whole (designated in Vol. I, pp. 43-48, as the *Late Priestly Narratives*), and (2) of a more or less homogeneous group of laws that is adjusted to this framework. As has already been noted (Vol. I), the historical sections are very terse, indeed little more than genealogical lists, except where they expand to introduce a covenant like that of the sabbath (Gen. 1¹-24^a), or an important legal institution like the rite of circumcision (Gen. 17). They trace Israel's history in outline to the settlement in Canaan; but they find their true culmination in the covenant and traditional legislation at Sinai. Sinai and the wilderness, therefore, furnish the setting for all the laws peculiar to this groundwork. The dwelling or tabernacle takes the place of the later temple, and all the laws intended for subsequent use centre about it. In the wilderness, apart from all people and things that might defile, the ideal ceremonial purity of the *congregation* and *camp* is set forth in carefully elaborated regulations.

To this groundwork belong the main body of the laws regarding the passover in Exodus 12¹-13, 43-49, the detailed directions regarding the dwelling or tabernacle in 25-29, the law of the sabbath (35², 3), the consecration of the priesthood (Lev. 9-10), the day of atonement (16), the sacred calendar (23⁴-8, 23-25, 33-38), the lamps and showbread (24¹-9), the census at Sinai (Nu. 1¹-4), the Levites (3), the priestly benediction (6²²-27), the use of trumpets (10¹-8), and the duties and dues of the priests and Levites (18). The fact that the same technical terms, peculiar idioms, and characteristic ideas bind together these laws and their historical setting, suggests that they may have once constituted an independent literary unit. If so, they may, on the basis

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

of the narrative sections, be approximately dated somewhere between 450 and 400 B.C. (cf. Vol. I, p. 47).

The
supple-
mental
priestly
codes

What has been true of all legal codes was especially so in a period of intense literary activity such as this; the work of revision and supplementing in all likelihood began soon after the groundwork was complete. Whether the Holiness Code and the priestly directions were among the first additions cannot be definitely determined. Aside from these larger and older codes, the additions to the groundwork represent simply the continuation of the process that had already produced the earlier groups of priestly laws. These supplemental priestly codes, however, have their own peculiarities in vocabulary and thought. They are intended to fill up the gaps in the older system of laws and to define more definitely the method of procedure. In this respect they are the immediate precursors of the oral law of later Judaism now found in the Mishna; for traditional precedents, such, for example, as the story of Zelophehad's daughters in Numbers 27¹⁻¹¹, here figure prominently, and are none other than earlier types of the halachic midrashim that became so popular with the later scribes. The tendency to make the ritual more elaborate is strong. Thus, an altar of incense, not previously known, is introduced; and the formal act of anointing, hitherto reserved for the consecration of the high priest, is now extended to the ordinary priests; the formula of blood-sprinkling, also, becomes more elaborate, and a secondary passover is added. These supplemental laws increase in many ways the income of the temple and priests; the tithe of the ground, for example, is extended to the herd, and the poll-tax becomes one-half instead of one-third of a shekel.

Their
con-
tents

The supplemental laws bulk large in the Pentateuch; but such is their prolixity and their reiteration of older regulations that their importance is far from proportionate to their volume. They mark the beginning of that intellectual, spiritual and literary deterioration which is still more in evidence in the Mishna and Talmud. To these supplemental codes belong the detailed and repetitious account of the preparation of the dwelling or tabernacle in Exodus 35-40, the law of the sin-offering (Lev. 4), the consecration of Aaron and his sons (8), the fiftieth year of jubilee (25⁸⁻¹⁷, 23, 25-55), vows and consecrated gifts (27), the order of the tribes (Nu. 2), the census of the adult males (4), the dedication of the altar (7), heterogeneous ceremonial laws (8 and 9), purification with the ashes of the red heifer (19), the law of inheritance illustrated by the case of Zelophehad's daughters (27¹⁻¹¹), the calendar of sacred seasons (28, 29), regulations regarding vows made by men and women (30), the laws of war (31), and the marriage of an heiress (36). In addition to these independent regulations, almost all the important earlier priestly laws contain supplemental sections from the hands of the late priestly scribes, who sought thus to bring the older into harmony with the later institutions.

Their
origin
and
date

Most of the supplemental priestly laws bear on their face the evidence of their late origin; but a few of them, those for example regarding vows, probably reflect comparatively early usage. Obviously it is difficult to fix the date of these laws, for they clearly represent the growth of many years. Possibly some of them had already found a place in the law-book accepted about 400 B.C. by the Jewish community in Palestine (Neh. 10). It is prob-

THE PRIESTLY CODES

able, however, that the majority are later additions. The temple tax, for example, in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah was still one-third of a shekel (Neh. 10³²) and not one-half, as required by the supplemental law in Exodus 30¹¹⁻¹⁶. And, as has already been noted, the date of the great day of atonement must have been fixed later, for there is no suggestion in Ezra or Nehemiah of its having been observed on the tenth day of the seventh month. The fact that in Nehemiah 10³⁷ only the tithe of the ground is required, as in the earlier priestly codes, likewise indicates that the definite supplemental law in Leviticus 37³⁰⁻³³, which adds a tithe of the herd and of the flock, was not yet incorporated in the law of Moses. With most of these later regulations, however, the Chronicler was familiar. It is safe to say, therefore, that the priestly codes in their composite form were, with the possible exception of certain brief scribal additions, in existence and accepted as authoritative by the Jewish race at least as early as 250 B.C.

As is well known, the influences which in divine providence produced the priestly codes did not cease to be felt when the canon of the law was closed. Old institutions continued to develop and new ones to come into existence. Hundreds of legal questions not anticipated by the Old Testament laws arose, and the final decisions in time came to have binding authority. In most cases traditional precedents associated with Moses were developed, usually as a product of scribal imagination, to lend support to that authority. For centuries these were treasured and augmented in the rabbinical schools. Lest they should supplant the written law of the Pentateuch, they were at first preserved only in oral form; but at length their bulk defied the power of human memory. The scattering of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., also endangered their preservation. Accordingly by 200 A.D. they were committed to writing. The Mishna, which records the majority of them, itself in time failed to answer all the questions that changed conditions and rabbinic imagination suggested: about it in turn there grew up during the succeeding centuries a vast body of comments and traditional decisions, ultimately gathered together about 600 A.D., in the great treasury of Jewish thought and literature, the Babylonian Talmud.

The priestly codes, in their final written form, stand at the middle point in a process of legal development that began in remote Semitic antiquity (cf. Frontispiece). For nearly two thousand years it can be traced in the life and literature of the Israelitish race. No one will maintain that the priestly codes represent the zenith of that development; it is rather to be found in the Deuteronomic and Holiness codes. In many ways the priestly laws represent a step backward to the more primitive stages when religion and religious duty were defined in the terms of the ceremonial.

There are few institutions or rites in the priestly codes that were not in vogue among other Semitic peoples and especially the Babylonians. Both races had practically the same sacrificial terminology; the same kinds of vegetable and animal sacrifices were offered; victims a year old were preferred and they must be without blemish; arks, altars, temples, tables of showbread, and the paraphernalia of sacrifice were nearly identical. The distinctions between clean and unclean food, and the laws of ceremonial purity were shared

His-
tory of
later
Jewish
law

Place
of the
priestly
codes
in the
history
of Is-
raelit-
ish law

Strong
influ-
ence of
com-
mon
Semitic
institu-
tions

ISRAEL'S LAWS AND TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS

in common. In almost every law of the priestly codes the influence of the inheritances from Israel's primitive past and of the Babylonian religion with which the exiled priests came into closest contact, is clearly reflected. Hence it was inevitable that the clear prophetic vision of God should often be obscured by the priesthood and the ritual, that the individual should become only a member of the congregation, and that forms strikingly similar to those of the peoples about should take the place of that personal worship which the prophets so fervently upheld.

The
real
value
and
signifi-
cance
of the
priestly
codes

And yet it must be remembered that the priestly laws are not antithetic to the older prophetic legislation. Both continued to exist side by side until they were united by a priestly editor. The priestly lawgivers assumed the ethical and personal teachings of the early codes as the basis upon which they reared their ritual and hierarchy. They also appreciated the firm hold that the ancient ritual had upon the great body of their nation. Though its origin was in a sense heathen and its influence often debasing, they could not expel it if they would. Accordingly they devoted themselves to singling out those older laws and customs that were adapted to the new conditions, to eliminating the debasing elements in the prevailing religious rites, and to giving the ritual as a whole a nobler and more spiritual meaning. History records the success of their efforts. Through the period of greatest peril and trial they preserved their race and religion intact within the wall of separation which they reared high about them. And though without the heathen raged, within that sacred enclosure the faithful—as the Psalms abundantly attest—found inward peace and joy in the presence of the Eternal Father.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LAWS

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LAWS

A

PERSONAL RELATION AND CONDITION

I

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

§ 1. Honor and Obedience Due Parents, Ex. 21¹⁵, 17, Dt. 5¹⁶ [Ex. 20¹²],
Dt. 21¹⁸⁻²¹, 27¹⁶, Lev. 19^{3a}, 20⁹

Primitive Codes

Ex. 21 ¹⁵He that striketh his father or his mother shall be put to death. Penalty
for
filial
im-
piety
¹⁷He that curseth his father or his mother shall be put to death.

Personal Relation and Condition.—Israel's primitive laws contain no references to the king or state or even to judges; but the master who stands at the head of the household is frequently mentioned, Ex. 21^{5,6}, 22⁸. He is regarded as the responsible and representative member of society. The earliest laws themselves deal chiefly with questions that concern the family. This characteristic is undoubtedly due to the fact that they embody usages and customary laws that come from the early nomadic stage when there was no organized state and when the family or tribe was the only social unit.

Throughout most of the period represented by the O.T., Israelitish society retained its original simple organization. At the head of the family was the father. Sharing with him the authority was his wife, if she was the mother of sons. Next in rank, but ever subject to their father, with whom they usually continued to live even after they had wives and children of their own, stood the sons. The daughters always occupied a very inferior position, being counted as little better than slaves until they were married and became mothers. Hired servants, either foreigners or freedmen who possessed little property but not yet reduced by poverty to slavery, are recognized in the laws. Much more numerous and important were the household slaves. Both foreigners and native Israelites were found in their ranks. Outside the family and regarded as wards of the community or state, were the aliens who had become permanent residents in the land of Israel.

§ 1 It is to the lasting glory of the O.T. legislators that they broke away from oriental tradition and demanded equal homage for both mother and father. The emphasis given to this law is doubtless due to the fact that the authority of the father was one of the cornerstones of early Israelitish society, and that obedience to the human parents was closely akin to obedience to the Divine Parent. Semitic law never went as far as the Roman, which gave to the father absolute power of life and death over his children. The Code of Hammurabi is still milder, for it not only aims to protect the son's right of inheritance even against the wishes of the father but also rules that:

§ 169 *If he has committed a grave crime against his father, which cuts off from sonship, for the first offence he shall pardon him. If he has committed a grave crime a second time, the father shall cut off his son from sonship.*

The old Sumerian laws, however, made slavery the penalty for a son who repudiated his father:

If a son has said to his father, You are not my father, he may brand him, lay fetters upon him, and sell him.

If a son has said to his mother, You are not my mother, one shall brand his forehead, drive him out of the city, and make him go out of the house.

The Babylonian, as well as the Hebrew father had the right to sell his children, if need be, as slaves, or to hire out his son and to take his wages.

Deuteronomic Codes

Reward
of filial
piety

Dt. 5 ¹⁶Honor thy father and thy mother, as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee; that thy days may be long, and that it may go well with thee, in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee.^a

Proced-
ure
in the
case of
wilful
disobe-
dience

21 ¹⁸If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, who will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and, though they chastise him, will not give heed to them, ¹⁹his father and his mother shall take hold of him, and bring him before the elders of his city, and to the gate of the place where he lives, ²⁰and they shall say to the elders of his city, This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a spendthrift and a drunkard. ²¹Then all the men of his city shall stone him to death; thus thou shalt put away the evil from thy midst, and all Israel shall hear, and fear.

Public
con-
demna-
tion

27 ¹⁶Cursed be he who dishonoreth his father or his mother. And all the people shall say, So may it be.^b

Holiness Code

Reiter-
ation
of the
older
law

Lev. 19 ^{3a}Ye shall fear each man his mother and his father. **20** ⁹For every one that curseth his father or his mother shall be put to death; he hath cursed his father or his mother; his blood shall be upon his own head.

§ 2. Authority of Father over Unmarried Daughter, Nu. 30³⁻⁵*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

Father
able to
annul
even a
vow
made
by his
daugh-
ter

Nu. 30 ³When a woman maketh a vow to Jehovah, and bindeth herself by a pledge, while she is still in her father's house, in her youth, and her father heareth her vow, and her pledge with which she hath bound herself, and her father saith nothing to her, then all her vows shall be valid, and every pledge with which she hath bound herself shall be valid. ⁵But if her father express his disapproval of her on the day that he heareth, none of her vows or her pledges with which she hath bound herself shall be valid; and Jehovah will forgive her, because her father expressed his disapproval of her.

^a Dt. 5¹⁶ The variant in Ex. 20¹² reads, *Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long upon the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee.* Both contain the original brief command of the prophetic decalogue, supplemented by a statement of the blessing that will surely follow its faithful observance.

^b Dt. 27¹⁶ This verse comes from the later supplement to the book of Deuteronomy. It may, however, represent an old liturgical formula. The language of these curses, Dt. 27¹⁴⁻²⁶, is related to the *Judgments* in Ex. 21-22²⁰, and the *Holiness Code*.

§ 2 The phraseology of this section connects it with some of the latest additions to the O.T. It is not closely joined to its context, 29 and 31, but rather supplements the laws regarding vows in Lev. 27 and Nu. 6. It, however, probably reflects earlier usage and well illustrates the legal status of the unmarried Hebrew daughter, for a vow in ancient times was otherwise regarded as irrevocable.

II

THE MARRIAGE RELATION

§ 3. Relatives between whom Marriage is Illegitimate, Dt. 22³⁰, 27²⁰, 22, 23,
Lev. 18⁶⁻¹⁸, 24, 25

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 22 ³⁰A man shall not marry his father's wife and shall not uncover his father's skirt.^c 27 ²⁰Cursed be he who lieth with his father's wife, because he hath uncovered his father's skirt. And all the people shall say So may it be.

²²Cursed be he who lieth with his half-sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

²³Cursed be he who lieth with his mother-in-law. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

Holiness Code

Lev. 18 ⁶None of you shall approach to any who are closely related to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am Jehovah. ⁷The nakedness of thy father, and the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover; she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ⁸The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover; it is thy father's nakedness. ⁹The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter^d of thy mother, whether born at home, or away, her nakedness thou shalt not uncover.

¹⁰The nakedness of thy son's daughter or of thy daughter's daughter, their nakedness thou shalt not uncover; for their nakedness is thine own. ¹¹The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father, who is thy sister—her nakedness thou shalt not uncover. ¹²Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister; she is thy father's near kinswoman. ¹³Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister; for she is thy mother's near kinswoman. ¹⁴Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy

Marriage Relation.—Since the family was the most important unit in ancient Semitic society, marriage was always carefully guarded. So completely was attention fixed on the interests of the family and clan that the parents always arranged the preliminaries, and the feelings and wishes of the contracting parties were rarely, if ever, consulted.

§ 3 This group of laws and its counterpart, Lev. 20^{11, 12, 14, 17, 19-21} are evidently intended primarily to guard the purity and peace of the family life. No distinction is made between relationship by marriage and by blood. The three capital offences are marriage with a step-mother or a daughter-in-law, or both a mother and her daughter, Lev. 20^{11, 12, 14}, § 72. In none of these cases is the alliance between blood kinsmen.

The O.T. laws record the successive stages in the development of the moral consciousness of the nation in regard to marriage. The primitive laws are silent and the earliest narratives imply that the usage of the Hebrews was similar to that among the Egyptians and Persians, where marriage between brothers and sisters and in some cases between parents and children was not unknown. Thus according to Gen. 20¹² Abraham married his half-sister. If David's son Amnon had chosen to marry his half-sister Tamar, evidently the public opinion of his day would have approved the act, II Sam. 13¹³. Lot married two daughters according to the tradition in Gen. 19³⁰⁻³⁸; Jacob married two sisters; Moses' father married his own aunt, Ex. 6²⁰. The law of levirate marriage survived in the face of later public opinion. The desire to perpetuate the family and to keep intact its hereditary wealth, was stronger in the

^c Dt. 22³⁰ Evidently a euphemism; enter into marital relations with a stepmother.
^d Lev. 18⁹ A scribe has added, anticipating the detailed law in,¹¹ the daughter of thy father or.

Holiness Code

father's brother, thou shalt not approach his wife; she is thine aunt. ¹⁵Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter-in-law; she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ¹⁶Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife; it is thy brother's nakedness.

With both a mother and daughter or grand-daughter or with two sisters ¹⁷Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter; thou shalt not take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; they are near kinswomen; it is unchastity. ¹⁸And thou shalt not take a woman as your wife in addition to her sister, to be her rival to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life-time. ²⁴Defile not yourselves in any of these ways, for in all these ways the nations, which I am casting out before you defiled themselves; ²⁵thus the land became defiled, and I visited its iniquity upon it and the land cast out its inhabitants.

§ 4. Marriage with a Captive, Dt. 21¹⁰⁻¹⁴*Deuteronomic Codes*

Forms and limitations to be observed **Dt. 21** ¹⁰When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and Jehovah thy God delivereth them into thy hands, and thou carriest them away captive, ¹¹and seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and thou hast a desire for her, and wouldest make her thy wife, ¹²then thou shalt bring her home to thy house; and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails; ¹³and she shall put off the garb of her captivity, and shall remain in thy house, and lament for her father and her mother a full month. After that thou mayest go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife. ¹⁴But if thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go where she will; but thou shalt not in any case sell her for money, thou shalt not deal with her as a slave, because thou hast humbled her.

§ 5. Marriage with Aliens, Ex. 34^{12a, 15, 16}, Dt. 7¹⁻⁴, Nu. 25⁶⁻¹³*Deuteronomic Codes*

No inter-marriage with native peoples **Ex. 34** ^{12a}Take heed ¹⁵not to make any alliance with the inhabitants of the land, lest, when they play the harlot after their gods and sacrifice to their gods and thou be invited, thou eat of their sacrifice; ¹⁶and lest, if

earlier period than the moral sense. The latter evidently developed rapidly under the preaching of the prophets, so that in Dt., and in the older decalogues preserved in the Holiness Code, it finds definite expression in laws which Ezek. makes the basis of one of his sermons, 22^{10, 11}.

§ 4 Female captives in war, like slaves, were adopted by the Israelitish community and family. Therefore the law provides for the marriage of Hebrews with them, simply stipulating that it shall not be done hastily and without consideration for the feelings of the captive. Having been raised to the position of a wife, she cannot again be sold as a slave. The Babylonian law also made the same provisions regarding female slaves, if they had borne children to the master. It further decreed, H. C. § 137, that if divorced the slave must be provided with means to support the children, and that when they had grown up she should have the equivalent of one son's share in her first husband's property and be free to marry the husband of her choice.

§ 5 The laws against intermarriage with foreigners cannot be traced back beyond the late prophetic codes. Indeed the supplemental editorial addition in Ex. 34^{15, 16} and in Dt. 7¹⁻⁴ are probably little, if at all, earlier than the Babylonian exile. The suggestive silence of the primitive codes is explained by the references in the earlier historical narratives where the marriage of kings like David, Solomon, and Ahab, and of private citizens like Samson and the mother-in-law of Ruth with foreigners, is a common practice, uncondemned by the earlier writers.

Non-intermarriage, however, was a corollary of Elijah's stern principle of non-alliance with foreigners. The Deuteronomic school first applied this principle rigidly to the life of the nation. The changed conditions of the Babylonian exile made non-intermarriage an absolute

Deuteronomic Codes

thou take their daughters as wives for thy sons, and their daughters play the harlot after their gods, thou also make thy sons play the harlot after their gods.

Dt. 7 ¹When Jehovah thy God shall bring thee into the land which thou art going in to possess, and shall clear away many nations before thee, the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou, ²and when Jehovah thy God shall deliver them into thy hands and thou shalt smite them, then thou shalt completely destroy them^e without making any terms with them, or without showing any mercy to them; ³neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thou shalt not give thy daughter to his son, nor shalt thou take his daughter as a wife for thy son. ⁴For he will turn away thy son from following me to serve other gods so that the anger of Jehovah will be kindled against you, and he will quickly destroy thee.

Extirpation not intermarriage, the later law

Priestly Codes

Nu. 25 ⁶Now, behold, one of the Israelites came and brought home to his kinsmen a Midianite woman in the sight of Moses and of all the congregation of the Israelites, while they were weeping at the door of the tent of meeting. ⁷And when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from the midst of the congregation and took a spear in his hand, ⁸and went after the man of Israel into the large tent and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel and the woman, through the body. So the plague was stayed from the Israelites. ⁹And those who died of the plague were twenty-four thousand.

A traditional precedent: death the penalty for intermarriage

¹⁰And Jehovah spoke to Moses, saying, ¹¹Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned away my wrath from the Israelites, in that he was jealous with the jealousy which I myself show among them, so that I did not consume the Israelites in my jealousy. ¹²Therefore say, 'Behold, I give to him my covenant of peace; ¹³and it shall be to him and his descendants after him the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was jealous for his God and made atonement for the Israelites.'

Reward of Phinehas' zeal

§ 6. Marriage of Priests, Lev. 21⁷, 13-15

Holiness Code

Lev. 21 ⁷A priest^f shall not marry a woman who is a harlot or dishonored; nor shall he marry a woman who has been divorced from her husband; for a priest is consecrated to his God.

Not to marry an immoral woman

essential, if the exiles were to preserve their racial identity. The records of Ezra 9, 10 and Neh. 13²³⁻²⁸ clearly indicate that the Jews of Palestine continued to intermarry with foreigners as late as 400 B.C. With the adoption of the priestly law they appear to have accepted the stricter rule in force among the Jews of the dispersion, so that from this time marital alliances with any outside the race were regarded as illegal. The late priestly precedent in Nu. 25⁶⁻¹⁵ was evidently intended to aid in enforcing this law and to trace it back to Moses, cf. *Introd.* p. 46. Marriage with resident aliens who had permanently identified themselves with the Jewish community was permitted even in the case of a priest's daughter, at least in the Holiness Code, Lev. 22^{12, 13}.

^e Dt. 7² *Lit., devote, put them under the ban, i. e., put them to death.*

§ 6 In this concrete and effective way the later lawgivers impressed upon the minds the people through the symbolism of the ritual, moral as well as ceremonial obligations.

^f Lev. 21⁷ Heb *he*

Holiness Code

The
high
priest

¹³A high priest shall take a virgin as his wife. ¹⁴A widow, or a divorced woman, or a dishonored woman, or² a harlot, such he shall not take; but a virgin of his own father's kin shall he take as his wife,¹⁵ that he may not make his offspring dishonored among his father's kin: for I am Jehovah who sanctifieth him.

§ 7. Marriage after Seduction, Ex. 22¹⁶, Dt. 22^{28, 29}*Primitive Codes*

Seduction
of a virgin

Ex. 22 ¹⁶If a man entice a virgin who is not betrothed and lie with her, he must make her his wife by paying a dowry for her.

Deuteronomic Codes

A wife
thus
wedded
never
to be di-
vorced

Dt. 22 ²⁸If a man find a virgin who is not betrothed and take hold of her and lie with her, and they be caught in the act, ²⁹the man who lay with her shall give to the girl's father fifty shekels of silver; moreover she shall be his wife because he hath humbled her; he may not divorce her as long as he liveth.

§ 8. Levirate Marriage, Dt. 25⁵⁻¹⁰*Deuteronomic Codes*

The
family
of a de-
ceased
man to
be per-
petuated
by his
brother
Proceed-
ure if
the sur-
viving
brother
refuses
to do
his
duty

Dt. 25 ⁵If brothers dwell together, and one of them die without having a son, the wife of the deceased shall not be married to a man outside the clan; her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and make her his wife, and perform the duty of a husband's brother to her. ⁶The first son whom she beareth shall succeed to the name of his brother who is dead, that his name may not become extinct in Israel.

⁷But if the man doth not wish to take his brother's wife, then she shall go up to the elders at the city gate and say, My husband's brother refuseth to perpetuate his brother's name in Israel; he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother to me.^h ⁸Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak to him; and if he stand, and say, I do not wish to take her, ⁹then his brother's wife shall come to him in the presence of the elders, and loose his sandal from off his foot, and spit in his face; and she shall speak forth and say, Thus shall it be done to the man who will not build up his brother's house. ¹⁰And his house shall be called in Israel, 'The house of him who hath his shoe loosed.'

² Lev. 21¹⁴ So Gk. The Heb. omits *or*.

§ 7 The prophetic lawgivers sought to guard against social immorality and the neglect of the marriage obligations by also imposing a definite marriage dowry and refusing divorce to the man who defied the laws of society. The amount fixed was fifty shekels in contrast to the thirty shekels usually paid for a slave.

§ 8 The aim of this law is to prevent the extinction of a family. Although recorded only in Dt., it is clearly an ancient institution, for it is assumed in the early Judean prophetic narrative of Gen. 38^{8, 14, 26}, and in the story of the marriage of Ruth and Boaz. The custom is not confined to the Hebrews, but is widely prevalent. The Hindu *Laws of Manu* enforce it in case the deceased leaves no issue of either sex. The same law is in force in Madagascar and among the Calchaquis of Brazil. The Hebrew version in Deuteronomy limits the law to cases where the deceased was living on the same estate with his brother and left no male heir.

^h Dt. 25⁷ Cf. Ruth 4¹.

§ 9. Authority of a Husband over his Wife, Nu. 30⁶⁻⁸, 13-15

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 30 ⁶If a woman be married while her vows are upon her, or the rash utterance of her lips with which she hath bound herself, ⁷and her husband hear of it, and say nothing to her on the day that he heareth of it, then her vows shall be valid, and her pledges with which she hath bound herself shall be valid. ⁸But if her husband express his disapproval of her on the day that he heareth of it, then he rendereth her vow invalid, and the rash utterance of her lips, with which she hath bound herself; and Jehovah will forgive her. ¹³Every vow and every oath pledging some self-infliction¹ her husband may render valid or invalid. ¹⁴But if her husband say nothing to her for several days, then he hath rendered all her vows or all her pledges which rest upon her valid; he hath rendered them valid because he said nothing to her on the day that he heard of them. ¹⁵But if he render them null and invalid, after he hath heard of them,ⁱ he taketh her^k iniquity upon himself.

Husband's power to annul any vow made by his wife

§ 10. The Test of a Wife's Chastity and the Penalty for Unchastity, Dt. 22¹³⁻²¹, Nu. 5²⁹, 13b, 30a, 14b, 30b, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26b, 27a, 28

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 22 ¹³If, after a man has married a wife and entered into marital relations with her, he turn against her, ¹⁴and frame against her shameful

Procedure in case of unchastity

§ 9 This law has many peculiarities and few points of contact with the original priestly legislation. It is more akin to the later rabbinical discussions, and, therefore, is probably a very late addition to the Pentateuch. It clearly illustrates the secondary place assigned to women by oriental custom: even in assuming religious obligations the wife must have the approval of her husband.

¹ Nu. 30¹³ Lit., *to afflict herself*, i. e., some form of abstinence; usually fasting is intended, cf. Is. 58³, 5, Ps. 35¹³.

ⁱ 30¹⁵ *I. e.*, tries to annul her vows after he has tacitly endorsed them.

^k 30¹⁵ Gk. and Sam., *his*.

§ 10 Among the Arabs to-day and in the villages of Palestine, the evidences of a bride's chastity are still displayed, cf. Buckhardt, *Arab Proverbs*, 117; *Bedouins*, I, 266. Although the absence of this evidence is not necessarily a positive proof of unchastity, the crude law of the nomad still accepts it as a sufficient cause for divorce. The law in Dt. 22¹³⁻²¹ clearly reflects exceedingly primitive usage. Possibly still more primitive—certainly more barbarous—is the ordeal proposed in Nu. 5 to satisfy the jealous suspicions of a husband regarding his wife's chastity. The duplication of parallel and yet distinctly variant phrases, the evidence of different points of view, and in general the prolixity of the present law reveal the presence here of two originally distinct laws; one proposing a test by ordeal to determine whether the suspected wife is guilty or innocent, the other outlining a method of punishing by ordeal a wife whose guilt is already established. The latter law is given under § 70, which deals with adultery.

The law of jealousy was probably introduced in Nu. 5 by one of the later priests. Similar rites were in vogue among many primitive peoples, e. g., the Hindus, cf. *The Laws of Manu*, IX-XIV; the Greeks, cf. *Plutarch's Pausanias' Description of Greece*, IV, 175 ff., 253 ff. Among the negroes of West Africa the bitter water (probably containing poisonous herbs) figures, cf. Ratzel, *Völkerkunde* II, 55, 349. In Japan an accused man is made to drink water in which paper inscribed with a certain character has been dipped. This is supposed to cause him pain until he confesses his guilt. Cf. Gray, *Numbers*, 44, 45 for additional illustrations.

Like all trials by ordeal, the injustice to the innocent is obvious. In the case of the guilty the appeal to superstitious fear undoubtedly often revealed the culprit. Probably this and the sacred lot are only two of the many similar rites which were in force among the early Hebrews. The Code of Hammurabi dealt with the problem much more simply and humanely:

§ 131 *If a man's wife has been accused by her husband, and has not been caught lying with another, she shall swear her innocence, and return to her house.*

An older custom, however, strikingly similar to the Hebrew law in that it provides for trial by ordeal, is found in the same code:

§ 132 *If a man's wife has the finger pointed at her on account of another, but has not been caught lying with him, for her husband's sake she shall plunge into the sacred river.*

Deuteronomic Codes

charges, and give her an evil name and say, I married this woman, and when I came near to her, I did not find in her the evidences that she was a virgin, ¹⁵then the father of the young woman and her mother shall take and bring evidences of the young woman's virginity to the elders of the city at the gate; ¹⁶and the young woman's father shall say to the elders, I gave my daughter to this man as wife, and he turned against her; ¹⁷and now see he hath framed shameful charges saying, 'I did not find in thy daughter the evidences that she was a virgin,' and yet these are the evidences of my daughter's virginity. Then they shall spread the garment before the elders of the city. ¹⁸And the elders of that city shall take the man and punish him; ¹⁹and they shall fine him a hundred shekels of silver, and give them to the young woman's father because the man hath given an evil name to a virgin of Israel; and she shall be his wife; he may not divorce her as long as he liveth.

Penalty
if the
wife is
guilty

²⁰But if it prove to be true that the evidences that the young woman was a virgin were not found, ²¹then they shall bring out the young woman to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her to death because she hath committed a shameful act in Israel, in that she hath been a harlot in her father's house; thus shalt thou purge out the evil from thy midst.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Trial
by
ordeal

Nu. 5 ²⁹This is the law of jealousy: If a wife who is subject to her husband turn aside and is defiled, ^{13b}and she remain undiscovered although she be defiled, ^{1 30a}or if the spirit of jealousy seize a man and he be jealous of his wife, ^{14b}even though she be not defiled, ^{30b}then he shall set the woman before Jehovah and the priest shall execute upon her all this law: ¹⁶the priest shall bring her near, and set her before Jehovah; ¹⁷and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel, and the priest shall take some of the dust that is on the floor of the dwelling and put it into the water. ¹⁹Then the priest shall take oath of her, and shall say to the woman, If no man has lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness, while subject to thy husband, thou shalt be immune from this water of bitterness that causeth the curse. ²⁰But if thou hast gone aside, while subject to thy husband, and defiled thyself, and some man has lain with thee besides thy husband, ²²when this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, it shall cause thy body to swell, and thy thigh to fall away. And the woman shall say, So may it be! So may it be! ²⁵Then the priest shall take the cereal-offering of jealousy out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the cereal-offering before Jehovah, and bring it to the altar.^m ^{26b}Afterward he shall make the woman drink the water.ⁿ ^{27a}And when he hath made her drink the water, if she be defiled and hath been unfaithful to her husband, the water that

¹ Nu. 5^{13b} Fragments of the original law of jealousy are found in ¹³, ¹⁴. These have been gathered up and repeated by the editor in ³⁰. On the basis of ^{13b}, ¹⁴, ³⁰ the original can be restored as above. Cf. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hexat.*, II, 192.

^m Nu. 5²⁵ Possibly the last clause belongs to the duplicate narrative.

ⁿ Nu. 5^{26b} This clause is omitted in the Gk. and Syr.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter, and her body shall swell, and her thigh shall fall away. ²⁸But if the woman have not defiled herself, but be innocent, then she shall be free and shall bear offspring.

§ 11. **Laws of Divorce** Gen. 2¹⁸, 23, 24, Ex. 21⁷⁻¹¹, Dt. 22¹⁸, 19, 28, 29, 24¹⁻⁴

Primitive Codes

Gen. 2 ¹⁸Then said Jehovah, It is not good for man to be alone; I will make a helper suited to him. ²³Then said the man, This, now, is bone of my bone And flesh of my flesh. This one shall be called woman, For from man was she taken.

The natural basis and sanctity of the marriage relation

²⁴Therefore a man leaves father and mother and cleaves to his wife, so that they two become one flesh.

Ex. 21 ⁷If a man sell his daughter to be a slave, she shall not go free as do the male slaves. ⁸If she does not please her master, who hath espoused her to himself, then he may let her be redeemed; he shall have no power to sell her to a foreign people, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her. ⁹If he espouse her to his son, he shall deal with her as with a daughter. ¹⁰If he marry another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish. ¹¹If he do not these three things to her, then she may go out without having to pay any money.

Rights of a Hebrew slave married to her master

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 22 *If a man shall charge his newly-wedded wife with unchastity and her innocence be established,* ¹⁸the elders of that city shall take the man and punish him; ¹⁹and they shall fine him a hundred shekels of silver and give them to the young woman's father because the man has given an evil name to a virgin in Israel; and she shall be his wife; he may not divorce her as long as he lives.

Cases in which a wife may not be divorced

²⁸If a man findeth a young woman, who is a virgin but is not betrothed, and lay hands on her, and lie with her, and they be found, ²⁹then the man who lay with her shall give to the young woman's father fifty shekels of

§ 11 The inferior position of the wife was an established canon in the ancient Semitic world. Since she was conceived of as the possession of her husband, his right of divorcing her was taken for granted. Even the modern Arab has only to lead his wife to the door of his tent and tell her to go and the marriage relation is severed.

The Hebrew lawgivers sought, as did Hammurabi, to interpose barriers in the way of hasty divorce. To this end they emphasized the sanctity of the marriage relation; and protected the rights of the female slave who had been made her master's wife. They also required the husband to formulate in writing the reasons for divorcing his wife and to give her this document. No provision is made that she may secure redress if the charge is false or insufficient; possibly this was left to her family or clan. The time and formality required to draw up a written charge would in itself be a powerful deterrent. The further provision that a divorced wife could not be taken back by her former husband also prevented hasty action.

The Code of Hammurabi marks a still greater advance over the primitive Semitic usage in regard to marriage. Cf. Appendix III. It even goes so far as to provide that the husband must pay alimony in case the divorced wife was not unfaithful. More surprising still, it enacts (§ 142) that, for sufficient cause, the wife could repudiate her husband and take her marriage-portion and return to her father's home.

Deuteronomic Codes

silver, and she shall be his wife, because he hath humiliated her; he may not divorce her as long as he lives.

Process
and
limitations
of di-
vorce

24 ¹When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, if she find no favor in his eyes, because he hath found some indecency^o in her, he shall write her a bill of divorce,^p and deliver it into her hand, and send her out of his house. ²And when she departeth out of his house, she may go and become another man's wife. ³But if the second husband turn against her and write her a bill of divorce and deliver it into her hand, and send her out of his house, or if the second husband who took her to be his wife die, ⁴her first husband who sent her away may not take her again to be his wife^q after she is defiled; for that is an abomination before Jehovah, and thou shalt not involve in guilt the land which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee as an inheritance.

III

MASTERS AND HIRED SERVANTS

§ 12. Rights of Hired Servants, Dt. 24^{14, 15}, Lev. 19^{13b}, 25⁶, 22^{10b}

Deuteronomic Codes

Fair
dealing
with
hired
ser-
vants

Dt. 24 ¹⁴Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant who is poor and needy, whether he be one of thine own race, or of the resident aliens who are in thy land within thy town. ¹⁵On the same^a day shalt thou pay him his wages before the sun goeth down; for he is poor and setteth his heart upon it, and let him not cry against thee to Jehovah, and thou be guilty of a crime.^b

Holiness Code

Pay-
ment of
wages

Lev. 19 ^{13b}The wages of a hired servant shall not remain with thee over night until the morning.

^o Dt. 24¹ Lit., *the nakedness of a thing*. The reference is probably to indecent or immodest action. The exact meaning of the term was the subject of much discussion and difference of opinion among the Rabbis, cf. the Mishna tractat, *Gittin*.

^p 24¹ Lit., *a writ of cutting off*.

^q 24⁴ The law seems to regard this second marriage as almost equivalent to adultery. It is closely connected with the teaching of Jesus in Mt. 5³².

§ 12 The spirit of justice and consideration that characterizes the O.T. laws is here especially prominent. The enactments aim simply to protect the rights of hired servants. This was necessary, since they were usually either poor or else foreigners, and therefore not possessed of the full rights of citizenship. In the later codes hired servants are always classed with aliens and excluded from the distinctively Israelitish religious privileges, indicating perhaps that at that time they were without exception foreigners. They were never adopted into the families of the Hebrews, as were the slaves, and therefore were not given the same rights. From Lev. 25⁵³ and Is. 21¹⁶ it appears that hired servants frequently engaged their services for a year. Is. 16¹⁴ makes the regular period three years—half that of a slave. From Dt. 24^{14, 15} and Job 14⁵, ⁶ it is evident that the contract might be by the day or month. The significant point is that it was always for a stipulated period and that, for the time fixed, the obligations of the servant were probably very similar to those of a slave.

^a Dt. 24¹⁵ Heb., *this*.

^b Dt. 24¹⁵ Lit., *it be sin in thee*. The expression is peculiar to Dt.

Holiness Code

25 ⁶The sabbath of the land shall be for food for you; for thee and for thy male and female slave, and for thy hired servant and for the settler who resideth with thee. Privileges

22 ^{10b}A hired servant shall not eat of that which is holy.^c

Limitations

IV

SLAVES AND MASTERS

§ 13. Enslavement of Israelites and Resident Aliens, Lev. 25³⁹, 40^a, 43-46

Holiness Code

Lev. 25 ³⁹If thy fellow countryman become poor and sell himself to thee, thou shalt not make him serve as a slave. ^{40a}As a hired servant and as a settler shall he be to thee. ⁴³Thou shalt not rule over him with harshness, but thou shalt fear thy God. Consideration for Hebrew slaves

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Lev. 25 ⁴⁴Any male or female slave, whom ye may have, ye shall buy of the nations that are round about you. ⁴⁵You may also buy them of the descendants of the settlers who reside among you, and of their families that are with you, that have been begotten in your land; and they shall be your possession. ⁴⁶Ye may also make them an inheritance for your children after you, to hold as a possession; ye may make them serve as slaves forever; but over your kinsmen the Israelites ye shall not rule with harshness one over another. Foreigners, but not Hebrews, to be held as slaves

§ 14. Permanent Slavery, Ex. 21⁵, 6, Dt. 15¹⁶, 17

Primitive Codes

Ex. 21 ⁵If a slave shall definitely say, I love my master, my wife, and my children, I will not go free, ⁶then his master shall bring him before The custom of piercing the ear

^c Lev. 22^{10b} *I. e.*, parts of the offerings which the Heb. offerers and the priests were allowed to eat.

Slaves and Masters.—The institution of slavery may be traced to the earliest period of Semitic history. Some of the oldest Babylonian tablets relate to the sale of slaves. The laws regulating this ancient institution were most of them established ages before the Hebrews appeared on the horizon of history. It was one of the chief corner-stones of Semitic society. In general it represented not so much the oppression as the protection of the weak by the strong. It was the chief refuge of the poor, the weak and the unfortunate, for which antiquity otherwise made little provision. Since it was so common and apparently so natural, little stigma attached to it. The position and rights of slaves in the ancient East were far superior

§ 13 While slavery probably arose from the custom of taking captives in war, in later times it appears, in nine cases out of ten, to have been the result of poverty. It is assumed as an established institution by the O.T. lawgivers; they simply endeavored to ameliorate its harshness. The very late priestly writers endeavored to restrict it entirely to foreigners. The original Holiness Code, however, appears to have simply enjoined consideration in the treatment of Hebrew slaves.

§ 14 The mildness and comparative advantages of the Hebrew institution of slavery are vividly illustrated by these laws. The choice of liberty, however, was not without its heavy restrictions, for individual freedom meant the abandonment of wife and children. Under this strong pressure many Israelites undoubtedly preferred to assume the permanent badge of slavery.

Primitive Codes

God,^a and shall lead him to the door, or the door-post, and his master shall bore through his ear with an awl; and the man shall be his slave as long as he liveth.

Deuteronomic Codes

The
later
custom

Dt. 15 ¹⁶If a slave says to thee, I will not go out from thee, because he loveth thee and thy household, and because he is contented with thee, ¹⁷then thou shalt take an awl and thrust it through his ear into the door, and he shall be thy slave forever. Thou shalt also do the same in the case of thy female slave.

§ 15. Sale of Slaves, Ex. 21^{7, 8}*Primitive Codes*

Limita-
tions
of sale
of fe-
male
slaves

Ex. 21 ⁷If a man sell his daughter to be a slave, she shall not go free as do the male slaves. ⁸If she does not please her master, who hath espoused her to himself, he may let her be redeemed; only he shall have no power to sell her to a foreign people, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.

§ 16. Manumission of Israelitish Slaves, Ex. 21^{2-4, 26, 27}, Dt. 15^{12-15, 18}, Lev. 25¹⁰*Primitive Codes*

Release
after
six
years

Ex. 21 ²If a man^b buy a Hebrew slave, he shall serve six years, but in the seventh year he shall go free without having to pay any ransom. ³If

to those in Rome or in modern times. In Babylonia, as in Israel, slaves were carefully guarded by law and common interests, so that their lot was very similar to that of trusted family servants to-day. In the East obedience to authority has always been emphasized more than the idea of personal liberty. The individual attained his true glory not by standing alone, but as an integral part of an illustrious family or tribe or nation. Each in turn recognized his responsibility to the whole, and, therefore, cruel masters and disloyal slaves appear to have been comparatively rare. Faithful slaves enjoyed most of the privileges shown the children of the household, and often intermarried into the family. They were also sometimes made the heirs of childless masters, cf. Gen. 15².

^a Ex. 21⁶ Probably to the family gods or penates placed in early times beside the door. Cf. Ex. 12⁷, and for a survival of the institution, Is. 57⁸. The parallel in Dt. omits the reference to the household god, but preserves the same primitive ritual. It probably symbolized the initiation of the slave into the worship of the household god, and, therefore, his complete admission into the family. This rite was a very common one in antiquity, especially among the Arabians, Lydians, Carthaginians and Mesopotamians.

§ 15 The reason for this law is found in the fact that female slaves apparently were always made the wives or concubines of the master or of some immediate member of his family and thereby were raised to a position above that of the ordinary slave.

^b Ex. 21² Heb., *thou*, but in all other civil laws the third person is used, cf. Intro., p. 23. Evidently here the *thou* has been introduced by a scribe who was influenced by the use of the second person in ¹.

§ 16 In the old Babylonian society there does not appear to have been any provision for the release of slaves at the end of an appointed time. The O.T. law assumes that at the end of six years the Hebrew slave will have paid his debt or expiated the penalty which led to his enslavement. The Deuteronomic law goes further and urges that the master provide his manumitted slave with the means necessary to begin again his independent life. The account in Jer. 34 of the reluctant liberation of their slaves by the citizens, under the pressure of a siege, in order to win Jehovah's favor, and their shameless repudiation of their solemn promise when the crisis was over, indicate that this law was probably never strictly enforced. It embodied an ideal too high for the people as a whole to attain, and yet its presence even in the oldest codes is most significant. The later priestly codes substituted, in practice at least, the very different and less strenuous law that at the end of every forty-nine (7x7) years all slaves should be freed. While less just, it apparently gave greater promise of being enforced, for enforcement would depend not upon the action of individual masters at the end of six years of service, but

Primitive Codes

he came in single, he shall go out unmarried; if he be married, then his wife shall go out with him. ⁴If his master give him a wife and she bear him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, but the man shall go out by himself.

²⁶If a man smite the eye of his male slave or the eye of his female slave so that it is destroyed, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. ²⁷And if he knock out a tooth of his male or female slave, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

The indemnity for serious personal injury

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 15 ¹²If one of thine own race, a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, be sold to thee, he shall serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free. ¹³And when thou lettest him go free, thou shalt not let him go empty-handed; ¹⁴rather thou shalt furnish him liberally^c from thy flock, and thy threshing-floor, and thy winepress; according as Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give to him.^d ¹⁵And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God redeemed thee: therefore I now command thee to do this thing. ¹⁸It must not seem hard to thee, when thou lettest him go free, for to the value of double the hire of a hireling hath he served thee six years;^e and thus Jehovah thy God will bless thee in all that thou doest.

Inter-unction to be generous to the liberated slave

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Lev. 25 ¹⁰Ye shall set apart as sacred the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land to all its inhabitants. It shall be a year of jubilee for you, and ye shall return each to his possession, and ye shall return each to his family.

Release for all Israelites in the year of jubilee

§ 17. Redemption of Israelitish Slaves, Lev. 25⁴⁷⁻⁵⁵*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

Lev. 25 ⁴⁷If a foreigner or alien residing with thee become rich and thy fellow countryman become poor beside him and sell himself to the

Israelitish slaves to be redeemed from foreigners at any time

upon the united action of the community, so that any failure to observe it would be readily recognized. It was accompanied by the law that no Hebrew be enslaved (§ 4); hence in theory, at least, this late law was unnecessary when first promulgated. Cf. for the probable origin of the year of jubilee, note § 113.

^c Dt. 15¹⁴ Lit., *surround with a necklace*, i. e., load him down with treasures.

^d Dt. 15¹⁴ In this deeply philanthropic law the older regulations of Ex. 21^{3, 4} regarding the children and wife acquired by the slave in servitude are ignored.

^e Dt. 15¹⁸ I. e., if a hired laborer had been engaged in his stead the expense would have been double the cost of the slave.

§ 17 This law reflects the impoverished and pitiable condition of the Jews which resulted from the Babylonian exile. Nehemiah found in his day that many had been sold as slaves to foreigners, and he states that he and his followers, according to their means, had redeemed their fellow Jews who had been enslaved. This law, with the exception of ^{47, 55c}, which was original to the Holiness Code, probably comes from the general period of Nehemiah or soon after. It provides for the redemption of Jews from foreign masters, whenever the slave or his kinsmen could provide the necessary means. Naturally it could be enforced only within the jurisdiction of the Judean community in Palestine. It also emphasized the responsibility of procuring the liberation of an enslaved Jew whenever that was possible.

Babylonian usage suggested the principles underlying this late regulation. Cases are on record of Babylonian slaves buying their own freedom. A member of a noble family who

Supplemental Priestly Codes

foreigner or alien residing with thee, or to a descendant of the foreigner's family, ⁴⁸he may be redeemed after he has sold himself; one of his kinsmen may redeem him; ⁴⁹or his uncle, or his uncle's son may redeem him; or one of his near family kinsmen may redeem him; or, if he become rich, he may redeem himself. ⁵⁰And he shall reckon with his purchaser from the year that he sold himself to him to the year of the next jubilee; and the price of his release shall be according to the number of years of service on the same terms as a hired servant shall he be with him. ⁵¹If there are yet many years, in proportion to them shall he give back the price of his redemption out of the money for which he was bought. ⁵²And if there remain but a few years until the year of jubilee, then he shall reckon with him; according to the years of service still remaining shall he pay back the price of his redemption.^f

To be
treated
kindly
and re-
leased
in the
year of
jubilee

⁵³As a servant hired by the year shall he be with him; thou shalt not look on quietly while he rules him harshly. ⁵⁴And if he be not redeemed in any of these ways, then he shall go free at the year of jubilee together with his children. ⁵⁵For to me the Israelites are servants; they are my servants whom I brought out of the land of Egypt: I am Jehovah your God.

§ 18. Reception of Fugitive Slaves, Dt. 23^{15, 16}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Protec-
tion
and
con-
sidera-
tion

Dt. 23 ¹⁵Thou shalt not deliver to his master a slave who has fled from his master to thee. ¹⁶He shall dwell with thee in thy land, in the place which he shall choose within one of thy towns, where it pleaseth him best, without your oppressing him.

through some accident had been enslaved, could at any time be redeemed by that family and the master could not prevent it. In Persian times a member of the conquering race could not be legally enslaved. Cf. Johns' *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, pp. 175, 176.

^f Lev. 25⁵² *I. e.*, he shall multiply the price paid by the number of years yet remaining until the year of jubilee and divide it by the total number of years from the time of his enslavement to the next year of jubilee.

§ 18 This law was probably retained and emphasized by the prophetic lawgivers because, making it possible for slaves to escape from cruel masters, it tended to relieve their lot. In its origin it probably goes back to the nomadic period, when one tribe eagerly welcomed fugitives from a hostile tribe. It may also reflect the readiness of the Hebrews in later days to receive foreign additions to their ranks, since numbers were vitally necessary to their supremacy in the close competition which was always waged for the limited territory of Palestine. The flight of Shimei's slaves to Achish king of Gath, I Kgs. 2³⁹, illustrates what was probably a common practice.

Among the Hebrews themselves the enforcement of this law must have been beset with many complications. It is also counter to the laws of Hammurabi which are very explicit and strict on this point:

§ 16 *If a man has harbored in his house a male or female slave from a patrician's or plebeian's house, and has not caused the fugitive to leave on the demand of the officer of the slaves condemned to public forced labor, that householder shall be put to death.*

§ 17 *If a man has caught either a male or female runaway slave in the open field and has brought him back to his owner, the owner of the slave shall give him two shekels of silver.* § 18. *If such a slave will not name his owner, his captor shall bring him to the palace, where he shall be examined as to his past and returned to his owner.* § 19. *If the captor has secreted that slave in his house and afterward that slave has been caught in his possession, he shall be put to death.* § 20. *If the slave has fled from the hands of his captor, the latter shall swear to the owner of the slave and he shall be free from blame.*

The wide variations illustrate the very different estimates placed on the value of property and the diverse points of view of the two legal systems.

§ 19. Penalty for Injury Done to Slaves, Ex. 21²⁰, 21, 26, 27

Primitive Codes

Ex. 21 ²⁰If a man strike his male or female slave with a stick so that he die at once, the master must be punished. ²¹If, however, the slave^g survive a day or two the master shall not be punished, for it is his own loss.

Fatal injury by master

²⁶And if a man strike his male or female slave in the eye so as to destroy it, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. ²⁷And if he knock out a tooth of his male or female slave, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

Permanent injury

§ 20. Reparation for Injury Done to Slaves, Ex. 21³²

Primitive Codes

Ex. 21 ³²If an ox gore a male or female slave, then thirty shekels of silver shall be given to their master, and the ox shall be stoned.

Injury by an ox

§ 21. Religious Privileges of Slaves, Dt. 12¹⁷, 18, 16¹⁰, 11, Ex. 12^{43b}, 44

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 12 ¹⁷Thou mayst not eat within thine own gates the tithe of thy grain or thy new wine, or thine oil, or the firstlings from thy herd or thy flock, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy voluntary offerings, nor anything which thou presentest as a gift; ¹⁸but thou shalt eat them before Jehovah thy God in the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose, together with thy son and thy daughter, and thy male and female slaves, and the Levite who is within thy city; and thou shalt rejoice before Jehovah thy God over all that thou hast acquired.

To share the tithes and the sacrificial feasts

¹⁶ ¹⁰Thou shalt keep the feast of weeks to Jehovah thy God according to the measure of the voluntary offerings which thy hand shall present, in proportion as Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee. ¹¹Thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy male and female slaves, and the Levite who dwelleth in thy town, and the resident alien, the fatherless and the widow who live with thee, shall rejoice before Jehovah in the place where Jehovah thy God shall choose to have his name dwell.

To share in feast of weeks

Priestly Codes

Ex. 12 ^{43b}This is the regulation regarding the passover: ⁴⁴Each man's slave, who is bought for money, after thou hast circumcised him, shall partake of the passover meal.

In pass-over feast

§ 19 These laws mark a distinct advance over current Semitic usage. The Code of Hammurabi simply protects the rights of masters and says nothing about the rights of slaves. Although under the Heb. laws the injury to a slave was not punished as severely as one to a free man or woman, it is exceedingly significant that it was punished at all. The distinction in the penalty is further illustrated by the law of Lev. 19²⁰ (cf. § 71), which provides that illicit intercourse with a betrothed female slave shall be punished, but not by death as in the case of free men and women.

^g Ex. 21²¹ Supplying its implied subjects. In the original only the personal pronouns are used.

§ 20 The Code of Hammurabi further enacts that if a slave die as the result of an operation, the surgeon must give another slave to the master, § 219.

§ 21 Since slaves were regarded as regular and permanent members of an Israelitish family, they were accorded full religious privileges, whether aliens or Hebrews by birth.

V

ALIENS

§ 22. Rights and Duties of Resident Aliens, Ex. 22²¹ [23⁹], Dt. 24¹⁴, 17, 18, 1¹⁶, 27¹⁹, Lev. 25⁴⁷, 48^a, 53, 19³³, 34, 24²², Nu. 15²⁹, 30, 35¹⁵, 15¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 9¹⁴

Primitive Codes

Justice
and
protec-
tion

Ex. 22 ²¹Thou shalt not wrong nor oppress a resident alien; for ye were resident aliens in the land of Egypt.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 24 ¹⁴Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant who is poor and needy, whether he be one of thy fellow countrymen or one of thy resident aliens who are in thy land within thy gates. ¹⁷Thou shalt not pervert the justice due to the resident alien, or to the fatherless, nor take the widow's garment in pledge; ¹⁸but thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in Egypt and that Jehovah thy God redeemed thee from there. Therefore I command thee to do this thing. 1 ¹⁶And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the cases between your fellow countrymen, and judge righteously between a man and his fellow countryman and the alien who resideth with him.

27 ¹⁹Cursed be the one who perverteth the justice due the resident alien, fatherless, and widow. And all the people shall say, So may it be!

Public
con-
demna-
tion of
injus-
tice

Holiness Code

Not to
hold
perma-
nently
nor op-
press
a He-
brew
slave

Lev. 25 ⁴⁷If an alien or the one living with thee become rich and thy fellow countryman become poor beside him, and sell himself to the alien or the one living with thee, or to a descendant of the alien's family, ^{48a} he may after he is sold be redeemed; one of his kinsmen may redeem him.^a ⁵³As a hired servant year by year shall he remain with him; thou shalt not look on quietly while the resident alien rules him harshly.^b

Aliens.—True to their early nomadic instincts, the Israelites were generous in their treatment of aliens who came to seek their protection and hospitality. They distinguished sharply, however, between a foreigner (*ben nekhar*), one who retained his allegiance to his own tribe or nation, the protection of which he therefore continued to enjoy, and the resident alien (*gēr*) who had taken up his permanent abode in and placed himself under the protection of an Israelitish tribe. Their attitude toward aliens also underwent great transformations in succeeding ages under the influence of the stirring political experiences through which they passed.

§ 22 The resident alien figures prominently in Israelitish legislation. Usually he was one who had been attracted by the tribe of his adoption either through intermarriage or trade, or to escape debt at home or the consequences of a crime, or simply impelled by a desire to better his condition. The Hebrews were always ready to welcome such, for it tended to increase their numbers and strength in warring Palestine where peace was won only by constant warfare.

Naturally the resident alien came without wealth or family support. Accordingly he was treated as a ward of the community and each succeeding code grants him greater rights and privileges. The Deuteronomic codes seek to insure to him not only justice but kindness, love and practical charity. In the Holiness and priestly codes, he is granted religious rites equal to those of the native Israelites, provided he submits to the rite of circumcision. With these comes equal responsibility in keeping Israel's law. Through this wide open door in later times foreign proselytes passed the high wall of separation and became identified with the Jewish community.

^a Lev. 25^{48a} Vs. 53 appears to have been the original sequel of 47. Vss. 48a, 49 are later additions.

^b Lev. 25⁵³ Lit., rule harshly over him in thy sight.

Holiness Code

19 ³³If an alien make his home with you in your land, ye shall do him no wrong. ^{34a}The alien who makes his home with you shall be to you as the native born among you. **24** ²²Ye shall have the same law for the resident alien as for the native born: for I am Jehovah your God.

Equal rights with Israelites

Priestly Codes

Nu. 15 ²⁹Ye shall have the same law for him who doeth anything unintentionally, for him who is native born among the Israelites, and for the alien who makes his home among them. ³⁰But whoever doeth anything defiantly,^c whether he be native born or a resident alien, the same reveleth Jehovah; that one shall be cut off from among his people.^d **35** ¹⁵For the Israelites and for the foreigner and for the alien residing among them, there shall be six cities as a place of refuge; that every one who killeth any person unintentionally may flee to them.

Resident aliens subject to same laws as the native Israelites

15 ¹⁴If an alien reside among you, or if any one else be among you throughout your generations, and wish to present an offering made by fire of an odor pleasing to Jehovah, as ye do, so shall he do. ¹⁵There shall be but one statute for the assembly,^e both for you and for the alien who resideth among you,^f a statute forever throughout your generations; ye and the resident alien shall both be alike before Jehovah. ¹⁶There shall be one law and one regulation for you, and for the alien who resideth among you.

To observe same sacrificial customs

9 ¹⁴If an alien reside among you, and wisheth to keep the passover to Jehovah, according to the regulations governing the passover, and according to its ordinance, shall he do; ye shall have one statute, both for the resident alien, and for him who is native born.

Also the pass-over regulations

§ 23. Limitations and Rights of Foreigners, Dt. 15^{3a}, 23^{20a}, 14^{21a}, c, Ex. 12⁴³

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 15 ^{3a}Of a foreigner thou mayest exact [a loan even during the seventh year of release]. **23** ^{20a}To a foreigner thou mayest lend upon interest; but not to a fellow countryman.

To pay interest at all times Allowed to eat unclean food

14 ^{21a, c}Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself, but thou mayest sell it to a foreigner.

Priestly Codes

Ex. 12 ⁴³And Jehovah said to Moses and Aaron, This is the ordinance of the passover: no foreigner shall eat of it.

Excluded from pass-over feast

^c Nu. 15³⁰ Lit., with a high hand.

^d Nu. 15³⁰ I. e., placed under the ban, deprived of the privileges of the clan and driven from the tribe or community.

^e Nu. 15¹⁵ For the assembly is missing in the Syr. and Lat., and may be a gloss or due to dittography.

^f Nu. 15¹⁵ Among you, found in Gk., not in Heb.

§ 23 The Heb. word commonly used to designate an unnaturalized foreigner means lit., stranger, and was applied to gods, men and lands. It included all not identified by birth or choice or possession with Israel. Unlike the resident alien, the foreigner had no rights in the land. From the days of Moses everyone and everything foreign was viewed askance. The bitter experiences of the Babylonian exile deepened the feeling of hatred.

B

RIGHTS OF PROPERTY

§ 24. Restoration of Lost Property, Ex. 23⁴, Dt. 22¹⁻⁴*Primitive Codes*

Property even of enemy to be protected

Ex. 23 ⁴If thou meet thine enemy's ox or ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. ⁵If thou see the ass of him who hateth thee lying prostrate under its burden, thou shalt in no case^g leave it in its plight; rather thou shalt, together with him, help it out.^h

Deuteronomic Codes

Later version of the above law

Dt. 22 ¹Thou shalt not see thy fellow Israelite's ox or his sheep going astray, and withhold thy helpⁱ from them; thou shalt surely bring them again to thy brother. ²And if thy fellow Israelite do not live near thee, or if thou do not know him, then thou shalt bring it home to thine house, and it shall be with thee until thy fellow Israelite seek after it; then thou shalt restore it to him again. ³Thus shalt thou do with his ass, and with his garment, and with every lost thing which belongeth to thy fellow Israelite, which he hath lost and thou hast found; thou mayst not withhold thy help. ⁴Thou shalt not see thy fellow Israelite's ass or his ox fallen down by the way and withhold thy help from them; thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again.

§ 25. Reparation for Damage or Loss of Property, Ex. 21²⁸⁻³⁶, 22⁷⁻¹⁵,Lev. 24¹⁸, 21a, 6¹⁻⁵*Primitive Codes*

Damage resulting from one's carelessness

Ex. 21 ³³If a man open a cistern, or if a man dig a cistern but doth not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall into it, ³⁴the owner of the cistern shall make it good; he shall give money to the owners and the carcass shall be his. **22** ⁵If a man burn over a field or vineyard and let the fire^j spread so that it

Rights of Property.—In the light of the later commercial habits of the Hebrews, it is interesting to note that their laws have comparatively little to say about property and property rights: only a few simple directions, evidently coming from the early nomadic period, survive. They probably sufficed, however, to guide judges in the more complicated cases that later arose. The Deuteronomic lawgivers were primarily interested in maintaining the rights of the needy and oppressed, while the authors of the priestly law were chiefly concerned with the development of the ritual, so that the reason for their silence is evident. Life and worship, not things, interested them.

§ 24 The high ethical note struck in the primitive codes, which enjoin kindness to an enemy, is astonishing (cf. § 115), especially as the Deuteronomic codes substitute, *fellow Israelite*. The reason for the substitution is probably to make the law applicable to all cases.

^g Ex. 23⁵ Restoring the corrupt Heb. with the aid of Gk. and Luc., which have retained the negative.

^h Ex. 23⁵ Following a reconstructed text suggested by the Gk. and Luc. and supported by the context.

ⁱ Dt. 22¹ Lit., *hide thyself*.

§ 25 The corresponding principles operative in the Bab. system are illustrated by the laws of Hammurabi found in Appendix IV. In general the penalties are much more severe in the Babylonian code.

^j 22⁵ At an early period the text of this verse was misunderstood and is generally misinterpreted. The current interpretation makes a domestic animal, instead of fire, that which destroys the vineyard. Slightly correcting the text the above reading is secured—a reading which is consonant with the context and especially ⁶.

Primitive Codes

devoureth a neighbor's field, out of the best of his own field, and the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution. ⁶If fire break out and catch in thorns so that the shocks of grain, or the standing grain, or the field are consumed, he that kindled the fire must make restitution.

²¹ ²⁸If an ox fatally gore a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and its flesh shall not be eaten, but the owner of the ox shall be acquitted.^k

Fatal
injury
inflict-
ed by a
man's
ox

²⁹But if the ox was already in the habit of goring, and it hath been reported to its owner, and he hath not kept it in, with the result that it hath killed a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and its owner shall also be put to death. ³⁰If a ransom is fixed for him, he shall give for the redemption of his life whatever amount is determined. ³¹Whether the ox hath gored a boy or a girl, this law shall be executed.

³²If the ox gore a male or female slave, thirty silver shekels shall be given to their master, and the ox shall be stoned.

Injury
to a
slave
Injury
of one
ox by
another

³⁵If one man's ox hurt another's so that it dieth, then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the money received from it; they shall also divide the carcass between them. ³⁶Or if it be known that the ox was already in the habit of goring, and its owner hath not kept it in, he must pay ox for ox, and the carcass shall belong to him.

²² ¹⁴If a man borrow an animal from his neighbor, and it be hurt or die while its owner is not with it, the man must make restitution.^l ¹⁵If its owner be with it, the man need not make it good; being a hired animal, it came for its hire.

Injury
to an
hired
animal

⁷If a man deliver to his neighbor money or personal property to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house, if the thief be found, he shall make double restitution.^m ⁸If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall come before Godⁿ to prove whether or not he hath taken^o his neighbor's goods.

Loss of
money
or per-
sonal
prop-
erty
held in
trust

^k Ex. 21²⁸ Hammurabi's law, § 250, reads: *If a bull has gone wild and gored a man, and caused his death, there can be no suit brought against the owner.*

^l Ex. 22¹⁴ The Code of Hammurabi is much more explicit:

§ 244 *If a man has hired an ox, or an ass, and a lion has killed it in the open field, the loss falls on its owner.*

§ 245 *If a man has hired an ox and has caused its death, by carelessness, or blows, he shall restore ox for ox, to the owner of the ox.*

§ 246 *If a man has hired an ox, and has broken its leg, or cut its neck (?), he shall restore ox for ox, to the owner of the ox.*

§ 247 *If a man has hired an ox, and knocked out its eye, he shall pay to the owner of the ox half its price.*

§ 248 *If a man has hired an ox, and has broken its horn, cut off its tail, or torn its muzzle, he shall pay one-quarter of its price.*

§ 249 *If a man has hired an ox, and God has struck it, and it has died, the man that hired the ox shall make affidavit and go free.*

^m Ex. 22⁷ Cf. Hammurabi's Code:

§§ 102, 103 *If the merchant has given money, as a speculation, to the agent, who during his travels has met with misfortune, he shall return the full sum to the merchant. If, on his travels, an enemy has forced him to give up some of the goods he was carrying, the agent shall specify the amount on oath and shall be acquitted.*

ⁿ Ex. 22⁸ Go to one of the sanctuaries or consult a priest that he may determine through the sacred oracle whether he is guilty or not. The analogy in the Code of Hammurabi is illuminating:

§ 106 *If an agent has taken money of a merchant, and his principal suspects him, that principal shall prosecute his agent, put him on oath before the elders, as to the money taken; the agent shall pay to the merchant threefold what he misappropriated.*

^o Ex. 22⁸ Lit., *put his hand to*.

The analogies to the Code of Hammurabi are especially close:

§ 120 *If a man has deposited his corn for safe keeping in another's house and it has suffered damage in the granary, or if the owner of the house has opened the store and taken the corn,*

*Primitive Codes*Loss of
animal
held in
trust

¹⁰If a man deliver to his neighbor an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep, and it die or be hurt or be driven away without any one's having seen it, ¹¹an oath sworn by Jehovah shall be between both of them to decide whether or not the one hath taken his neighbor's property; the owner must accept it, and the other need not make restitution. ¹²If it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution to its owner. ¹³If the animal be torn in pieces, let him bring it as evidence; he need not make good that which was torn.

Proced-
ure in
breach
of trust

⁹In every case of breach of trust whether it concern ox, or ass, or sheep, or clothing, or any kind of lost thing of which one saith, This is it, the case of both parties shall come before God; he whom God shall condemn shall make double restitution to his neighbor.

*Holiness Code*Injury
to an
animal

Lev. 24 ¹⁸He that smiteth a beast so that it dieth shall make it good, life for life. ^{21a}And he that killeth a beast shall make it good.

*Priestly Codes*General
law re-
garding
breach
of trust
or fraud

Lev. 6 ¹Jehovah spoke thus to Moses,^p ²If anyone sin and break faith with Jehovah, by deceiving his neighbor in regard to a deposit, or a pledge, or by robbing or defrauding his neighbor,^q ³or if he have found something which was lost, and deny it and perjure himself, if by doing any one of these things a man hath sinned and so is guilty, ⁴he shall restore that which he took by robbery, or the thing which he obtained by fraud, or the deposit which was entrusted to him, or the lost thing which he found, ⁵or anything about which he swore falsely; he shall restore it in full and shall add to it a fifth more; he shall give it to its rightful owner on the day that he is found guilty.

§ 26. Theory of the Ownership of Land, Lev. 25²³*Supplemental Priestly Codes*All land
held in
trust
for
Jeho-
vah

Lev. 25 ²³The land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine, and ye are resident aliens and settlers with me.

or has disputed the amount of the corn that was stored in his house, the owner of the corn shall declare on oath the amount of his corn, and the owner of the house shall return him double.

§ 124 If a man has given on deposit to another, before witnesses, gold, silver, or any goods whatever, and his claim has been contested, he shall prosecute that man, and [the man] shall return double what he disputed.

§ 125 If a man has given anything whatever on deposit, and, where he has made his deposit, something of his has been lost, together with something belonging to the owner of the house, either by house-breaking or a rebellion, the owner of the house who is in default shall make good all that has been given him on deposit, which he has lost, and shall return it to the owner of the goods. The owner of the house shall look after what he has lost and recover it from the thief.

§ 126 If a man has said that something of his is lost, which is not lost, or has alleged a depreciation, though nothing of his is lost, he shall estimate the depreciation on oath, and whatever he has claimed he shall return double.

^p Lev. 6¹⁻⁵ Heb. 5²⁰⁻²⁴.

^q Lev. 6² Intentionally or unintentionally.

§ 26 The theory of the ownership of the land comes from the very late priests and is akin to the idea, expressed in the same context ⁶⁵, that the Israelites are Jehovah's slaves.

§ 27. Conveyance of Real Property, Lev. 25^{15, 16, 33}

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Lev. 25 ¹⁵According to the number of the years after the jubilee thou shalt buy land from thy neighbor, and according to the number of the crops until the next jubilee shall he sell it to thee. ¹⁶If the number of the years be great, thou shalt increase its price, but if the number of years be small, thou shalt reduce its price, for it is the number of the crops that he selleth to thee.

Land only sold subject to reversion

³⁴But the fields in the pasture land of the cities belonging to the Levites may not be sold, for it is their perpetual possession.

No sale of Levitical pasture land

§ 28. Redemption of Hereditary Land, Lev. 25^{24-27, 29-32}

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Lev. 25 ²⁴In all the land of our possession ye shall allow the land to be redeemed. ²⁵If thy fellow countryman become poor and sell some of his possession, his kinsman who is nearest to him shall come and redeem that which his brother hath sold.

Right of kinsman to redeem land

²⁶And if a man have no one to redeem it, and he become rich and find sufficient to redeem it, ²⁷then let him count the years since its sale and refund the value of the remainder [until the year of jubilee] to the man to whom he sold it; thus he may return to his possession.

Of seller to redeem it

²⁹If a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, he shall have the right of redeeming it for a whole year after it has been sold; for a year he shall retain the right of redemption. ³⁰Then if it is not redeemed within a year, the house that is in the walled city shall be assured in perpetuity to him who bought it, to him and his descendants; it shall not be released in the year of jubilee. ³¹But the houses of the villages which have no walls around them, shall be reckoned as belonging to the fields of the country; the right of redemption shall be retained for them and they shall be released in the year of jubilee. ³²But in the case of the houses in the cities which belong to the Levites, the Levites shall have the perpetual right of redemption.

Redemption of houses in walled cities

§ 27 This section like the preceding, appears to be a late priestly supplement to the older law of the sabbatical year. Cf. §§ 223, 224. There is no evidence that, in the long period preceding Nehemiah, the law of the year of jubilee, which provided that all land should revert to its hereditary owners, was known; and the proof that it was not in force is conclusive. The present enactment provides that all land shall be sold at a price, proportionate to the number of crops that can be raised on it before it must revert to its original owner.

§ 28 The law in ²⁵ is apparently a very old one and provides that in the case of a forced sale of hereditary land the nearest kinsman shall have the first right of buying it. Jer. 32⁷⁻¹⁵ contains an account of some land thus purchased by the prophet Jeremiah from his kinsman. The story of Naboth's vineyard, I Kgs. 21 also illustrates how carefully the hereditary rights were guarded. The later supplemental law, possibly reviving a primitive usage, provides that ancestral lands may be redeemed at any time.

§ 29. Reversion of the Hereditary Land, Lev. 25¹³, 28b, 31b, 33 [Nu. 36³, 4]*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

All
land
and
houses
in un-
walled
towns
to re-
vert
at the
jubilee

Lev. 25 ¹³In the year of jubilee ye shall return each to his possession. 28bAt the jubilee [a poor man's land] shall be released and he shall return to his possession. ^{31b}[Houses in villages without a wall] shall also be released at the jubilee. ³³If one of the Levites doth not^r redeem [his hereditary possession] the house that was sold in the city of their possession shall be released at the year of jubilee; for the houses in the cities of the Levites are their possession among the Israelites.

IV

RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE

§ 30. The Law of Primogeniture, Dt. 21¹⁵⁻¹⁷, 25⁵, 6*Deuteronomic Codes*

Double
right
of el-
dest son
inalien-
able

Dt. 21 ¹⁵If a man have two wives, the one beloved and the other hated, and both the one who is beloved and the one who is hated have born him children, and if the first-born son belong to her who is hated, ¹⁶on the day that he causeth his sons to inherit that which he hath, he shall not be allowed to give the right of the first-born to the son of the beloved wife to the exclusion of the eldest, the son of the one who is hated; ¹⁷but he shall acknowledge the first-born, the son of the one who is hated, by giving him a double portion^a of all that he hath, for he is the first product of his strength; the right of the first-born is his.

In case
of a
Levi-
rate
mar-
riage

25 ⁵If brothers live together, and one of them die, and have no son, the wife of the deceased shall not be married to a man outside the clan; her husband's brother shall go in to her, and make her his wife, and perform the duty of a husband's brother to her. ⁶Then the first son whom she bears shall succeed to^b the name of the deceased brother, that his name may not become extinct^c in Israel.

§ 29 The late priestly point of view is manifest in this law; it aimed to overthrow the prevailing usage, which insured a permanent title to a purchaser. The genesis of the late regulation and its connection with the condition of the returning exiles will be discussed in § 113. Nu. 36³, 4 contain the only other allusion in the Pentateuch to the year of jubilee, cf. § 32.

^r Lev. 25³³ The negative has been lost in the Heb. but is restored in the Lat., as the context demands.

Rights of Inheritance.—Customary usage had so established the rights of inheritance among the Israelites that detailed enactments were unnecessary. In the earlier times the property passed to the male heirs, and upon them devolved the obligation to support the mother and the unmarried sisters. If there were no sons, the father's brothers assumed the duties of parents and inherited the property of the deceased. The present laws simply deal with exceptional cases.

§ 30 This law was disregarded by David who appointed Solomon as his successor, even though he was not his oldest son, I Kgs. 1¹¹⁻¹³. For the Bab. usage cf. Appendix V.

^a Dt. 21¹⁷ Lit., *mouth of two*.

^b Dt. 25⁶ Lit., *stand upon*.

^c Dt. 25⁶ Lit., *be blotted out*.

§ 31. Rights of Daughters to Inherit, Nu. 27¹⁻¹¹*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

Nu. 27 ¹There came near the daughters of Zelophehad, the son of Hephher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of Manasseh^d the son of Joseph; and these are the names of his daughters: Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. ²And they stood before Moses and before Eleazar the priest, and before the princes and all the congregation, at the door of the tent of meeting, saying, ³Our father died in the wilderness, and he did not belong to those who conspired against Jehovah in the company of Korah; but he died in consequence of his own sin; and he had no sons. ⁴Why should our father's name disappear^e from among his family because he had no son? Give us therefore an hereditary possession among our father's kinsmen. ⁵So Moses laid their case before Jehovah.

The traditional case

⁶Then Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ⁷What the daughters of Zelophehad say is right, thou shalt surely give them an hereditary possession among their father's kinsmen, and thou shalt transfer to them their father's inheritance. ⁸Moreover thou shalt speak thus to the Israelites, 'If a man die and have no son then ye shall transfer his inheritance to his daughter. ⁹And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance to his brothers. ¹⁰And if he have no brothers, then ye shall give his inheritance to his father's brothers. ¹¹And if his father have no brothers then he shall give his inheritance to the nearest kinsman in his family, that he may possess it.' This shall be an established ordinance^f for the Israelites, as Jehovah commanded Moses.

Ruling that inheritances shall pass to nearest kinsmen

§ 32. Heiress to Marry within her Own Tribe, Nu. 36¹⁻¹²*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

Nu. 36 ¹The heads of the father's houses of the family^g of the sons of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of the sons of Joseph, came near and spoke before Moses^h and before the princes, the heads of the father's houses of the Israelites; ²and they said, Jehovah commanded my lord to give the land by lot as an inheritance to the Israelites; and my lord was commanded by Jehovah to give the inheritance of Zelophe-

The traditional case

§ 31 It was only in the latest period of O.T. history that daughters were recognized as legal heirs, cf. § 30. The present tradition, which attributes the origin of the institution to Moses, is clearly one of the latest parts of the O.T., and is cited to give authority to this radical but just departure from long established usage. In the Code of Hammurabi definite provision was made for inheritance by daughters. Cf. Appendix V. In Job 42¹⁵ daughters are given equal rights with sons. The account of the carrying out of the traditional precedent in Nu. 27¹⁻¹¹ is recorded in the late priestly section of Josh. 17⁸⁻⁹, from which it is clear that the daughters were originally tribes.

^d Nu. 27¹ *Of the families of Manasseh*, is probably secondary.

^e Nu. 27⁴ Lit., *be taken away, withdrawn*.

^f Nu. 27¹¹ Lit., *statute of an ordinance*.

§ 32 This traditional precedent is a supplement of the preceding. Its object is to render it impossible for ancestral property to pass from a clan.

^g Nu. 36¹ It is possible that for *family* we should here read *families*, cf. 26³⁰.

^h Nu. 36¹ Gk. adds, *and, before Eleazar the high priest*.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

had our brother to his daughters. ³If now they marry any of the sons of the other tribes of the Israelites, then their inheritance will be withdrawn from the inheritance of our fathers and will be added to the inheritance of the tribes to which their husbands belong; thus something will be taken away from the lot of our inheritance. ⁴When the jubilee of the Israelites shall come, then their inheritance will be added to the inheritance of the tribe to which their husbands belong; thus their inheritance will be withdrawn from the inheritance of the tribe of our fathers.¹

Ruling
that fe-
male
heirs
shall
not
alienate
prop-
erty
from
their
clan

⁵Then Moses gave this command to the Israelites in accord with the word of Jehovah: The tribe of the sons of Joseph have spoken right. ⁶This is the thing which Jehovah doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, They may marry whom they think best; only they shall intermarry in the family of their father's tribe, ⁷so that no inheritance of the Israelites shall pass from one tribe to another tribe; for the Israelites shall retain each the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers. ⁸Every daughter who cometh into possession of an inheritance of any tribe of the Israelites, shall become the wife of one of the family of her father's tribe, that the Israelites may possess each the inheritance of his father, ⁹and that no inheritance may pass from one tribe to another; for the tribes of the Israelites shall cleave each to his own inheritance.

The
tradi-
tional
prece-
dent

¹⁰Even as Jehovah commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad; ¹¹for Mahlah, Tirzah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, were married to their father's cousins. ¹²They were married into the families of the sons of Manasseh the son of Joseph; and so their inheritance remained in the tribe of their father's family.

¹ Nu. 36⁴ This was probably added by a scribe who had in mind Lev. 25¹³⁻¹⁶.

CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS

CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS

A

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

§ 33. Qualifications for Citizenship, Dt. 23¹⁻⁸

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 23¹ No one who is wounded in the stones or hath his privy member cut off may enter into the assembly of Jehovah.^a 2² No bastard shall enter into the assembly of Jehovah; even to the tenth generation none of his descendants shall enter into the assembly of Jehovah.

3³ No Ammonite or Moabite shall enter into the assembly of Jehovah; never even to the tenth generation shall one belonging to them enter into the assembly of Jehovah, 4⁴ because they did not meet you with bread and water in the way,^b when ye came forth from Egypt, and because they hired against thee Balaam the son of Beor from Pethor of Aram Naharaim,^c to curse thee. 5⁵ Nevertheless Jehovah thy God would not hearken to Balaam; but Jehovah

Political Organization.—The life of the Hebrews before the exile was so simple that few constitutional laws were necessary. Their political organization was not the result of legislative enactments; it was rather the outgrowth of primitive institutions and an adaptation of these to new needs. The original unit of Hebrew as well as of all Semitic society was the family. In time, by the natural processes of intermarriage and generation, this grew into the clan and tribe. Theoretically all members of the clan or tribe were direct descendants of the same ancestors; but as a matter of fact it contained in the past, as do Arab tribes to-day, many aliens, admitted either through intermarriage or adoption or as slaves. Just as the head of the family was the father, so the most powerful and representative elder was head of the clan or tribe. As to-day, the sheik was usually chosen from a certain leading family; but he was not necessarily succeeded by his oldest son. The ablest man, the one possessing the greatest resources, whether in actual wealth or physical strength or intellectual acumen or personal prestige and influence, was chosen by the members of the tribe as their leader in war, and their arbiter in cases of dispute. It is important to note that his authority was not absolute; it rested on common consent; he was but the servant of the tribal community. His counselors were the tribal chieftains and elders, who represented the different clans and families.

By almost unconscious stages the kingdom grew out of this simpler institution. In the days of the Judges certain leaders successfully espoused a common cause. Because they brought deliverance and protection their authority was recognized during their lifetime by a local federation of tribes, but at their death the union was dissolved. When, however, the energetic, able Philistines threatened the independence of all the Hebrew tribes, in desperation they called one of their local chiefs, who had demonstrated in a war with the Ammonites his

^a Dt. 23¹ This expression evidently means that he shall not share the religious privileges of the temple. A reference to this law is found in Lam. 1¹⁰.

^b Dt. 23⁴ According to the ancient Heb. tradition in Gen. 19³⁰⁻³⁸, the Ammonites and Edomites were regarded as bastards. With deeper historical insight, a later editor traces the exclusive attitude to the ancient hostility between the Hebrews and their vindictive neighbors across the Jordan. He may well have had in mind the cruel advantages which they took at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jews were fugitives or in exile.

^c Dt. 23⁴ Cf. Nu. 20¹⁹⁻²¹.

Deuteronomic Codes

thy God turned the curse into a blessing for thee, because Jehovah thy God loved thee.^d ⁶Thou shalt never seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days.

⁷Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy kinsman; thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian,^e because thou wast a resident alien in his land. ⁸The children of the third generation that are born to them may enter into the assembly of Jehovah.

§ 34. The Census, Nu. 1^{1,3}, 3¹⁴, 15, 4^{1,3}*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

Nu. 1 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses in the Wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they had come out of the land of Egypt: ²Take a census of all the congregation of the Israelites, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, all the males, by their heads, ³from twenty years old and upward, all in Israel who are able to go forth to war, shalt thou and Aaron ⁴number by their hosts.

³ ¹⁴Jehovah also commanded Moses in the Wilderness of Sinai: ¹⁵Number the Levites by their fathers' houses, by their families, every male from a month old and upward shalt thou number them. ⁴ ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses and Aaron: ²Take a census of the Kohathites from among the Levites, by their families, by their fathers' houses, ³from thirty years old and upward even to fifty years old, all who enter upon the service, to do the work in the tent of meeting.

§ 35. Division of the Land, Josh. 18²⁻¹⁰, Nu. 26^{52,56} [33⁵⁴]*Deuteronomic Codes*

Josh. 18 ²Since there remained among the Israelites seven tribes which had not yet divided their inheritance, ³Joshua said to the Israelites, How

ability to lead, to guide and represent them not only during his own life but at his death to transmit his authority to his descendants. Thus the Hebrew kingship came into existence. All its traditions were democratic. The king was deliberately chosen as the servant of the people. The only native precedents to shape its development were those connected with the earlier institution of the sheik. In time the immediate followers and supporters of the king grew into a nobility that in part took the place of the earlier tribal elders. The city organization also succeeded that of the clan; but the old tribal bonds never entirely disappeared, and the people always clung tenaciously to their popular rights in opposition to the despotic policies introduced by such rulers as Solomon and Ahab.

^d Dt. 23^{4b}. ^e Cf. Vol. I, § 98. The later editor who added these vss. evidently had before him the present composite narrative of Nu. 22, 23.

^o Dt. 23⁷ The older hostile attitude toward the Egyptians has evidently disappeared, and the law reflects the later days when, before the exile, the Egyptians were the only allies of the Hebrews.

§ 34 The early Hebrews like the modern Arabs of the desert, regarded the taking of a census as displeasing to the Deity, cf. II Sam. 24, Vol. II, § 33. The earlier laws accordingly contain no regulations concerning it. Not until the Israelites had come into contact with the Babylonians and Persians did they formulate a definite census law. This was cast in the form of a legal precedent associated with Moses. Its theoretical and priestly character is obvious. It is one of the many very late traditional precedents by which the priestly schools aimed to establish on a Mosaic basis the institutions of their own day.

^f Nu. 1³ This clause is probably a late addition.

§ 35 The tradition that the land of Canaan was originally divided among the Hebrew tribes

Deuteronomic Codes

long will you be remiss in taking possession of the land which Jehovah the God of your fathers hath given you? ⁴Appoint three men from each tribe and I will send them, and they shall arise and walk through the land, and mark it out for their inheritance; then they shall come to me. ⁵And they shall divide it into seven divisions for themselves. Judah shall remain in his territory on the south, and the house of Joseph shall remain in their territory on the north. ⁶And ye shall mark out the land into seven divisions, and bring the plan here to me. Then I will cast lots for you here before Jehovah your God. ⁷For the Levites have no portion among you, inasmuch as the priesthood of Jehovah is their inheritance; and Gad and Reuben and the half-tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance on the east side of the Jordan, which Moses the servant of Jehovah gave them.

⁸So the men arose and departed. And Joshua gave this command to those who went to mark out the land: Go and walk through the land, and mark it out and come again to me; and I will cast lots for you here before Jehovah in Shiloh. ⁹So the men went and passed through the land and marked it out in a book by cities into seven divisions; then they came to Joshua to the camp at Shiloh. ¹⁰And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh before Jehovah. Thus Joshua there divided the land among the Israelites according to their divisions.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 26 ⁵²Jehovah said to Moses, ⁵³Among these the land shall be apportioned as an inheritance according to the number of names. ⁵⁴To the large tribe thou shalt give a proportionately large inheritance, and to the smaller tribe thou shalt give a proportionately small inheritance, to each according to those who are numbered as belonging to it shall its inheritance be given. ⁵⁵Yet the land shall be divided by lot, according to the names of the tribes of their fathers they shall inherit. ⁵⁶According to the lot shall their inheritance be divided between the more numerous and less numerous tribes.

The
later
priestly
version

§ 36. Respect Due Rulers, Ex. 22^{28b}*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 22 ^{28b}Thou shalt not curse a ruler of thy people.*

Not to
curse a
ruler

by lot, comes from the comparatively late period when the actual process by which they became possessed of their final abiding place had long been forgotten. The original basis is apparently a later Judean prophetic story but this has been reversed by a Deuteronomic editor, so that in its final form it may here be classified with the Deuteronomic laws. Cf. Vol. I, § 117. The late priestly precedents in Nu. 25⁵²⁻⁵⁶, 33⁵⁴ were intended to guide the returning exiles in establishing their individual titles to the soil of Palestine. The version in Nu. 33⁵⁴ is simply an abbreviation of that in 25⁵²⁻⁵⁶.

§ 36 This brief law from the Ephraimite prophetic decalogue is linked with the command not to revile God. Evidently in the mind of the primitive lawgiver the civil rulers are regarded as the earthly representatives of the divine King.

* Ex. 22^{28b} Lit., *among thy people*.

§ 37. Qualifications and Duties of the King, Dt. 17^{14, 20}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Must
be a
native
Israel-
ite

Dt. 17 ¹⁴When thou comest to the land which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell in it, and shalt say to thyself, I will set over me a king as have all the nations that are round about me, ¹⁵be sure to set over thee as king him whom Jehovah thy God shall choose; one from among thy fellow Israelites shalt thou set over thee as king; thou mayst not put a foreigner over thee who is not a fellow Israelite.

Must
avoid
the
crimes
of Solo-
mon

¹⁶Only he shall not provide many horses for himself, nor shall he cause people to return to Egypt in order that he may provide many horses, since Jehovah hath said to you, Ye shall never again return that way. ¹⁷Neither shall he take many wives for himself, lest his heart turn away; neither shall he collect for himself great quantities of silver and gold.

Must
rule in
accord
with
the
Deuter-
onomic
laws

¹⁸And when he sitteth upon his kingly throne he shall write for himself in a book a copy of this law which is in the charge of the Levitical priests;^h ¹⁹and he shall have it always with him, and he shall read in it daily as long as he liveth, that he may learn to fear Jehovah his God, to take heed to observe all the words of this law and these statutes, ²⁰that his heart be not lifted up above his kinsmen, and that he turn aside from this command neither to the right nor to the left in order that he and his descendants may continue long to rule in the midst of Israel.

B

MILITARY REGULATIONS

I

ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY

§ 38. Legal Age of Service, Nu. 26^{2a, 3a} [1^{2, 3}]*Priestly Codes*

Twenty
years
and
over

Nu. 26 ^{2a}Take a census of all the congregation of the Israelites, ^{3a}from twenty years old and upward, all in Israel who are able to go forth to war in Israel.

§ 37 These laws seek primarily to regulate those abuses which became most glaringly apparent in the reigns of Solomon and Ahab, cf. I Kgs. 10¹⁴⁻¹¹¹³. They aim to maintain the original, simple, democratic ideal of the Hebrew kingship against the seductive and subversive influence which came in from the neighboring despotisms. In effect these regulations make the king a constitutional ruler, who stands in striking contrast to the tyrants who ruled in all the neighboring states. They also assume that primitive Hebrew conception of the king, as Jehovah's representative, responsible for all his acts to the Divine Sovereign, which was the historical and abiding basal idea of the theocracy.

^h Dt. 17¹⁸ *I. e.*, in the central sanctuary. Cf. 31^{9, 26}.

Organization of the Army.—Except the royal body guard of six hundred in the days of David, cf. Vol. II, § 34, the Hebrews do not appear to have maintained a standing army. Throughout all their history their main defence was the militia, which was called out only in

§ 39. Exemptions from Military Service, Dt. 20^{1a}, 5.7, 24⁵, Nu. 1⁴⁸, 49, 2³³

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 20 ^{1a}When ye go out to fight against your foes, ⁵the officers shall speak to the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house but not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. ⁶And what man is there that hath planted a vineyard, but not partaken of its fruit? ⁷let him return to his house, lest he die in battle, and another man use its fruits. Those who have just completed a house or vineyard

⁷If there is any who is betrothed to a wife, but hath not married her, let him go and return to his house, lest he die in battle, and another man marry her. A betrothed man

24 ⁵When a man is newly married he shall not go out in the military service,^j neither shall any business be imposed upon him; he shall stay at home one year to attend to his household,^k and shall give pleasure to his wife whom he hath married. A newly married man

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 1 ⁴⁸For Jehovah spoke thus to Moses: ⁴⁹Only the tribe of Levi shalt thou not number, neither shalt thou take a census of them among the Israelites. **2** ³³So the Levites were not numbered among the Israelites, as Jehovah commanded Moses. Levites

§ 40. Minor Officers, Dt. 20⁹, 11^{1a}, 13¹⁵

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 20 ⁹When the officers have made an end of speaking to the people, they shall appoint commanders of the forces over the people. Appointment

1 ^{1a}These are the words which Moses spoke to all Israel, ¹³Take for your tribes men who are wise, intelligent, and known, that I may make them officers over you. ¹⁴And ye answered me, 'The thing which thou proposhest to do is good.' ¹⁵So I took the heads of your tribes, men of wisdom and reputation, and made them officers over you, captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens, and officers according to your tribes. The Mosaic precedent

time of war and at the close of the campaign disbanded. Practically all able-bodied men over twenty years of age were eligible for military service. The king was the head of the army with experienced officers under him. The forces were divided into regiments, companies, and smaller bands of fifty and ten, commanded by officers chosen, probably, from the local tribes and cities represented.

§ 39 These laws strikingly illustrate the idealism of the Deuteronomic codes: the belief that Jehovah will deliver his people if they are loyal to him, is so strong that the humane principle is unhesitatingly applied to specific cases where forced service might bring especial discomfort. The humane laws also reveal the growing interest in the welfare of the individual that characterizes these later codes. First Mac. 3⁵⁶ states that Judas observed these laws; but otherwise there is no evidence that they were at other times practically enforced. In the very late priestly precedent, in Nu. 1 and 2, only the Levites are exempted from military service.

ⁱ Dt. 20⁶ Lit., *treated it as common, i. e.*, partaken of its fruit after the firstfruit had been set aside as sacred to Jehovah.

^j Dt. 24⁵ Lit., *host*.

^k Dt. 24⁵ Lit., *for his house*.

§ 40 According to I Mac. 3⁵⁵, Judas Maccabaeus appointed on the battle-field the commanders of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. This law is also substantiated by the later priestly precedent in Nu. 1⁴⁻¹⁰ which, like that in Dt. 1¹³⁻¹⁵, traces the custom back to Moses. It is probably very ancient. The commanders thus appointed were the tribal chieftains already familiar with war and leadership.

II

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ARMY IN THE FIELD

§ 41. Cleanliness of the Camp, Dt. 23⁹⁻¹⁴*Deuteronomic Codes*

Each
man to
guard
against
pollut-
ing it

Dt. 23 ⁹When thou goest forth in a military campaign against thine enemies, thou shalt keep thyself from every evil thing. ¹⁰If there be among you anyone who is not clean as the result of an accident by night, then he shall go away outside the camp, he must not come inside the camp. ¹¹But when evening cometh on, he shall bathe himself in water; and when the sun is set he may come inside the camp. ¹²Thou shalt have a place also outside the camp, to which thou shalt go out; ¹³and thou shalt have a paddle¹ among thy weapons, and when thou sittest down outside thou shalt dig a hole with it, and shalt turn back and cover thy excrement, ¹⁴for Jehovah thy God ever goeth about in the midst^m of thy camp, to deliver thee and to give thine enemies into thy hands;ⁿ therefore thy camp should be holy, that he may see no unclean thing in thee and turn away from thee.

§ 42. Manner of Attack, Dt. 20^{1-4, 10-12}, Nu. 10⁹*Deuteronomic Codes*

En-
cour-
age-
ment
to be
brave
and
trust in
God

Dt. 20 ¹When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses and chariots, and a people more than thou, be not afraid of them; for Jehovah thy God is with thee, he who brought thee up from the land of Egypt. ²And when ye draw near to offer battle, the priest shall approach and speak to the people, ³and say to them, Hear O Israel, ye are drawing near this day to fight against your enemies; do not lose heart, fear not, nor tremble, neither be afraid because of them; ⁴for Jehovah your God is going with you, to fight for you against your enemies in order to deliver you.

Pre-
limi-
naries
preced-
ing the
attack

¹⁰When thou drawest near to a city to fight against it, proclaim peace to it.^o ¹¹And if it make a peaceful response and open its gates to thee, then shall all the people that are found in it be compelled to do forced labor for thee and serve thee. ¹²But if it make no peace with thee but offer battle against thee, then thou shalt lay siege against it.

§ 41 While this law was of practical hygienic value, the motive which gave rise to it was evidently religious and ceremonial. The simple anthropomorphic conception of Jehovah in ¹⁴ suggests that this law in its present form comes from an early period. From I Sam. 21⁶ it may be inferred that the weapons of war, and probably the person of the warriors, were in ancient times solemnly consecrated. Cf. also II Sam. 1²¹. The priestly law of Nu. 5¹⁻⁴ states that in the traditional march through the wilderness all lepers were excluded from the camp. Every one ceremonially impure, either because of an issue, Lev. 15^{2,15}, or from contact with a corpse, was also shut out; but these laws, though based upon the same principle as the former, make no reference to a military camp.

¹ Dt. 23¹³ Lit., *tent pin*, i. e., that is something pointed or similar in form to a tent pin.

^m Dt. 23¹⁴ Lit., *going to and fro*. It means that Jehovah accompanied his people in all their campaigns.

ⁿ Dt. 23¹⁴ Lit., *before thee*.

^o Dt. 20¹⁰ I. e., give it a chance to surrender without being attacked.

§ 42 War is regarded as inevitable by the lawgivers. Their effort is to regulate as far as possible its barbarity and to prevent needless loss of life.

Priestly Codes

Nu. 10 ⁹When ye go to war in your land against the foe that oppresseth you, ye shall sound an alarm with the trumpets; and ye shall be remembered before Jehovah your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies. Call to battle

§ 43. Division of the Booty, I Sam. 30²¹⁻²⁵*Primitive Codes*

I Sam. 30 ²¹Now when David came to the two hundred men, who had been too faint to follow him, so that he had to leave them behind at the Brook Besor, they went out to meet David, and the people who were with him. And when they came near to the people, they saluted them. ²²Then all the wicked and base scoundrels among the men who went with David began to say, Because they did not go with us, we will not give them any of the spoils that we have recovered, except to each, his wife and his children, that he may take them away and depart. ²³But David said, Do not so, my brothers, after that which Jehovah hath given us, and after he hath preserved us and delivered the marauding band that came against us into our hand. ²⁴And who will give heed to you in this matter, for—

As is the share of him who goeth down into battle,
So is the share of him who remaineth with the baggage.
They shall all share alike.

²⁵And from that time on he made it a statute and precedent in Israel to this day.

§ 44. Disposal of the Spoils and Captives, Dt. 20^{10, 12-18}, 7^{1, 2, 16, 22-26}, 20^{19, 20, 21^{10, 14}}, Nu. 31^{1a, 2, 3, 7-18, 21-31}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 20 ¹⁰When thou drawest near to a city to fight against it, proclaim peace to it. ¹²But if it make no peace with thee, but offer battle against thee, then thou shalt lay siege against it. ¹³And when Jehovah thy God delivereth it into thy hand, thou shalt put every male in it to the edge of the sword; ¹⁴but the women, and the little ones, and the animals, and all that is in the city, even all its spoil, shalt thou take to thyself as booty; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which Jehovah thy God hath given thee. In the case of distant foes

§ 43 This enactment, embedded in the early historical narratives, is especially interesting, for it illustrates one of the common ways in which a law came into existence. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 12.

§ 44 It is a great relief to note that these laws enjoining the merciless destruction of the Canaanites and Midianites took form centuries after the conquest, and that the actual practice in the earlier day was far different. These laws also stand in striking contrast to the humane principles laid down by Amos, 1^{6, 13}, and with the prevailingly philanthropic spirit of the codes in which they are found. The explanation lies in the fact that these later lawgivers are dealing not with present but past conditions, and are thinking not of the suffering of the innocent but of the glaring evils in Israel's character and religion which were directly traceable to the influence of the early Canaanitish inhabitants of the land, whom the Hebrews absorbed. These blood-thirsty laws were formulated in the days following the reaction of Manasseh when the true prophets of Jehovah were engaged in a death struggle with the old popular heathen cults. In essence they declare that it would have been better for Jehovah's people to have exterminated the evil, root and branch, than to have allowed it to remain a constant menace to Israel's true life and faith.

Deuteronomic Codes

¹⁵Thus shalt thou do to all the cities that are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations.

The peoples of Canaan ¹⁶But of the cities of these peoples, that Jehovah thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth; ¹⁷but thou shalt utterly destroy^p them, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee,^q ¹⁸that they may not teach you to do according to all their abominations, which they have done to their gods, and so ye sin against Jehovah your God. 7 ¹But when Jehovah thy God shall bring thee into the land which thou art going in to possess, and shall clear away many nations before thee, the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou, ²and when Jehovah thy God shall deliver them into thy hands and thou shalt smite them, then thou shalt completely destroy them without making any terms with them or without showing any mercy to them. ¹⁶But thou shalt consume^r all the peoples that Jehovah thy God shall deliver into thy power; thou shalt show them no pity; neither shalt thou serve their gods for that would be a snare to thee.

Gradual but complete extermination of both peoples and cults ²²And Jehovah thy God will clear away those nations before thee little by little; thou mayst not consume them all at once, lest the wild beasts become too numerous for thee. ²³But Jehovah thy God will deliver them into thy hand and will throw them into great confusion, until they are destroyed. ²⁴And he will deliver their kings into thy hand, and thou shalt blot out their name from the earth;^s no man will be able to stand before thee until thou hast destroyed them. ²⁵The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire; thou shalt not covet the silver or the gold that is on them, nor take it for thyself, lest thou be snared thereby, for it is an abomination to Jehovah thy God. ²⁶And thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house, lest thou fall like it under the ban;^t thou shalt utterly detest and abhor it, for it is placed under the ban.

Fruit trees to be spared even in war ²⁰¹⁹When thou shalt besiege a city a long time in making war against it in order to capture it, thou shalt not destroy its trees by wielding an ax against them; thou mayest eat of them, but thou shalt not cut them down; for is the tree of the field a man, that it should be besieged by thee?^u ²⁰Only the trees which thou knowest are not fruit trees, thou mayst destroy and cut, that thou mayst build siege-works against the city that maketh war with thee, until it fall.

Per-mission to marry a female captive ²¹¹⁰When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and Jehovah thy God delivereth them into thy hands, and thou carriest them away captive ¹¹and seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and thou

^p Dt. 20¹⁷ Lit., *place under the ban, devote.*

^q Dt. 20¹⁷ *E. g.*, 7², Ex. 23³¹⁻³³.

^r Dt. 7¹⁶ Lit., *eat.*

^s Dt. 7²⁴ The Heb. idiom is, *make their name to perish from under heaven.*

^t Dt. 7²⁶ *I. e.*, *be given up to destruction.*

^u Dt. 20¹⁹ Following the Gk. and Lat. in translating this clause as a question.

Deuteronomic Codes

hast a desire for her, and wouldst make her thy wife, ¹²then thou shalt bring her home to thy house; and she shall shave her head and pare her nails, ¹³and she shall put off the garb of her captivity and shall remain in thy house, and bewail her father and her mother a full month; after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife. ¹⁴But if thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go where she will; but thou shalt not sell her in any case for money; thou shalt not deal with her as a slave, because thou hast humbled her.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 31 ^{1a}Jehovah said to Moses, ²Avenge the Israelites on the Midianites; afterward thou shalt be gathered to thy father's kin. ³Therefore Moses gave this command to the people: Equip men from among you for the war, that they may go against Midian, to execute Jehovah's vengeance on Midian. ⁷So they made war on Midian, as Jehovah commanded Moses, and slew every male. ⁸They also slew the kings of Midian with the rest of their slain: Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, the five kings of Midian; Balaam, too, the son of Beor, they slew with the sword.

The traditional priestly precedent

⁹And the Israelites took captive the women of Midian with their little ones. And all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods they took as booty. ¹⁰But all their cities, in the places in which they dwelt, and all their enclosures they burnt with fire. ¹¹And they took all the spoil and all the booty both of man and of beast. ¹²And they brought the captives, and the booty and the spoil to Moses and Eleazar the priest, and to the congregation of the Israelites at the camp in the plains of Moab, which are by the Jordan at Jericho.

Disposal of the captives and booty

¹³Then when Moses and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them outside the camp, ¹⁴Moses was angry with the officers of the host, the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds, who came from the service of the war. ¹⁵And Moses said to them, Have you saved all the women alive? ¹⁶Behold, these caused the Israelites, through the counsel of Balaam, to break faith with Jehovah in the affair of Peor, and so the plague was among the congregation of Jehovah. ¹⁷Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman who has entered into marital relations. ¹⁸But all the female children, who have not entered into marital relations, keep alive for yourselves.

More instructions regarding the captives and booty

²¹And Eleazar the priest said to the warriors who went to the battle, This is the statute of the law which Jehovah hath commanded Moses, ²²Only the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the lead,—²³every thing that may be put into the fire, ye shall put through the fire, that it may be clean; it shall surely be purified by means of the water of impurity; and all that can not be put into the fire you shall put through the water. ²⁴And ye shall wash your clothes on the seventh day, and shall be clean; and afterwards ye shall come into the camp.

Detailed directions regarding their ceremonial purification

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Jehovah's portion of the spoil for the priests
 Portion of the Levites
²⁵Then Jehovah commanded Moses, ²⁶Make an estimate of the booty that was taken, both of man and of beast, thou, and Eleazar the priest, and the heads of the fathers' houses of the congregation, ²⁷and divide the booty into two parts; between the men skilled in war, who went out to battle, and all the congregation. ²⁸And levy a contribution for Jehovah upon the warriors who went out to battle: one in five hundred, of the persons, and of the oxen, and of the asses, and of the flocks: ²⁹take it from their half, and give it to Eleazar the priest, as a special contribution to Jehovah. ³⁰And from the Israelites' half thou shalt take one drawn out of every fifty, of the persons, of the oxen, of the asses, and of the flocks, *even* of all the cattle, and give them to the Levites who have charge of the dwelling of Jehovah. ³¹And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as Jehovah commanded Moses.

C

THE JUDICIARY

§ 45. Appointment of Judges, Ex. 18^{13, 26}, Dt. 16^{18a}

Primitive Codes

Moses' work as judge
 Ex. 18 ¹³Now Moses sat as judge to decide cases for the people, and the people stood about Moses from morning until evening. ¹⁴But when Moses' father-in-law saw all that he was doing for the people, he said, What is this thing that you are doing for the people? why are you sitting all alone while all the people stand about you from morning until evening? ¹⁵And Moses answered his father-in-law. Because the people keep coming to me to inquire of God. ¹⁶Whenever they have a matter of dispute, they come

The Judiciary.—In its method of administering justice the ancient East differed widely from the modern West. The most striking difference was the absence in the ancient East of any distinct judicial organization. Political, judicial and religious duties were often discharged by the same officials. In Egypt, Babylonia and Israel the judges to whom cases were referred were quite invariably either civil officers or priests. Every prominent public official, from the king himself to the local tribal elders, could thus be called upon to act as judges. The result was that justice often miscarried for lack of system and a responsible organization to attend to its execution. Also in Babylonia, Egypt, and ancient Israel, most cases were tried not before one but several associated judges. In Babylonia such a judicial body might consist of from four to twelve, among whom were often found civil officials, scribes, priests and elders. A similar mixed court was established at Jerusalem during the latter days of the monarchy.

In ancient Israel, however, ordinary cases were decided by the tribal or local elders assembled at the city gates, or else by the priests to whom the questions in dispute were referred at the local sanctuary and later at the temple at Jerusalem. Important cases could be carried to the king, as the ultimate authority, or later to the central court at Jerusalem, cf. § 47. It is not clear what determined the choice of a court. Probably much liberty was allowed to the individual litigants. If a crime was involved, the community or the local elders or the priests doubtless took the initiative, according to the nature of the offence.

In the ancient East the litigants each presented and pled his own case, although in preparing it he was free to utilize the services of friends or scribes. The plaintiff and defendant, in Babylonia at least, also produced their own witnesses, who were duly sworn and carefully examined. For a full and illuminating presentation of the facts regarding judges, law-courts and legal processes, cf. John's *Bab. and Assy. Laws, Contracts and Letters*, pp. 80-112.

§ 45 The early Ephraimite prophetic account of Moses' activity as judge throws much light upon the origin of Israel's judiciary, cf. *Introd.*, pp. 10, 11. The explicit law directing the establishment of local courts is comparatively late.

Primitive Codes

to me, that I may decide which of the two is right, and make known the statutes of God, and his decisions.

¹⁷Then Moses' father-in-law said to him, This thing which you are doing is not good. ¹⁸Both you and these people who are about you will surely wear yourselves out, for the task is too heavy for you; you are not able to perform it by yourself alone. ¹⁹Now hearken to me, I will give you good counsel, so that God will be with you: You be the people's advocate with God, and bring the cases to God, ²⁰and you make known to them the statutes and the decisions, and show them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do. ²¹Moreover you must provide out of all the people able, God-fearing, reliable men, hating unjust gain; and place such over them to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens; ²²and let them judge the people at all times. Only every great matter let them bring to you; but every small matter let them decide themselves; so it will be easier for you, and they will bear the burden with you. ²³If you do this thing and God so commands you, then you will be able to endure, and all these people also will go back to their places satisfied. ²⁴So Moses hearkened to the advice of his father-in-law, and did all that he had said. ²⁵And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties and rulers of tens. ²⁶And they judged the people at all times; the difficult cases they brought to Moses, but every small matter they decided themselves. ²⁷Then Moses let his father-in-law depart, and he went his way to his own land.

His example in appointing judges

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 16 ^{18a}Judges and officers shalt thou appoint according to thy tribes in all the cities which Jehovah is about to give thee.

Local judges

§ 46. Duties of Judges, Ex. 23^{6,8}, Dt. 16^{18b,20}, 1¹⁶, 17, 27²⁵, 25^{1, 2}, Lev. 19¹⁵ [35]

Primitive Codes

Ex. 23 ⁶Thou shalt not prevent justice being done to thy poor in his cause. ⁷Keep aloof^a from every false matter.^b Do not condemn^c the innocent nor him who hath a just cause. Do not vindicate^d the wicked. ⁸Thou shalt take no bribe, for a bribe blindeth the eyes of those who see and perverteth the cause of the righteous.^e

To administer justice to all classes alike

§ 46 The strong emphasis which the prophets placed on justice, especially in the law-codes, left its deep impress on Israel's laws. To insure justice to all alike was one of the chief aims of the Deuteronomic codes.

The same lofty purpose actuated Hammurabi. This is illustrated by the drastic punishment which he directs to be inflicted upon a judge suspected of rendering a decision under unjust influence:

§ 5 *If a judge has given a verdict, rendered a decision, granted a written judgment, and afterward has altered his judgment, that judge shall be prosecuted for altering the judgment he gave and shall pay twelvefold the penalty laid down in that judgment. Further, he shall be publicly expelled from his judgment-seat and shall not return nor take his seat with the judges at a trial.*

^a Ex. 23⁷ Lit., keep far away from.

^b Ex. 23⁷ I. e., every crooked conspiracy to prevent justice.

^c Ex. 23⁷ Lit., do not slay.

^d Ex. 23⁷ So Gk. which has clearly preserved the original text.

^e Ex. 23⁸ Or, righteous matters.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 16 ^{18b}The judges shall judge the people with righteous judgment. ¹⁹Thou shalt not prevent justice; thou shalt not show partiality;^f neither shalt thou take a bribe, for a bribe blindeth the eyes of the wise and perverteth the words^g of the righteous. ²⁰Justice and only justice^h shalt thou follow, that thou mayst live and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

To be influenced only by the principles of justice

1 ¹⁶At that timeⁱ Moses said, I give your judges this charge, 'Hear the cases between your fellow countrymen, and judge righteously between a man and his neighbor, and the alien residing with him. ¹⁷Ye shall be impartial in judgment; ye shall give equal hearing to the weak and strong; ye shall not be afraid of any man; for the judgment is God's; and the case that is too difficult for you, bring to me and I will hear it.'

Public censure

27 ²⁵Cursed be he who taketh a bribe to condemn^j an innocent person. And all the people shall say, So let it be.

Judge to witness corporal punishment

25 ¹If there be a controversy between men and they come for a decision, and judgment is pronounced upon them, with the result that the righteous is vindicated and the wicked condemned,² and if the culprit deserveth to be beaten, then the judge shall make him lie down and be beaten in his presence with the number of blows corresponding to his crime.^k

Holiness Code

To be absolutely impartial

Lev. 19 ¹⁵Ye shall do no injustice in rendering a judicial decision.^l Thou shalt not show partiality to the poor nor have undue consideration for the powerful; but justly shalt thou judge thy neighbor.

§ 47. The Supreme Court of Appeal, Dt. 17^{8,11}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Difficult cases to be referred to it

Dt. 17 ⁸If a question involve bloodshed or conflicting claims, or the plague of leprosy,^m—questions of controversy within thy city too difficult for thee to decide,—then thou shalt set out and go up to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; ⁹and thou shalt come to the Levitical priests, and to the judge who shall be officiating in those days; and thou shalt inquire; and they shall make known to thee the proper judicial sentence.

^f Dt. 16¹⁹ Lit., *Know the faces of*; RV, *respect persons*.

^g Dt. 16¹⁹ Lit., *words, statements*.

^h Dt. 16²⁰ Lit., *Justice, justice*. The repetition intensifies the form of the command.

ⁱ Dt. 1¹⁶ The event referred to is recorded in Ex. 18. Cf. § 45.

^j Dt. 27²⁵ Lit., *to slay*.

^k Dt. 25²⁵ The law goes on to add that the blows inflicted must be limited to thirty-nine.

^l Lev. 19¹⁵ The first command contained in the vs. is repeated in ³⁵.

§ 47 The O.T. furnishes no further information regarding the appointment and constitution of the central court at Jerusalem. In ancient times Moses, and later the Heb. kings (II Sam. 12¹⁻⁹, 15²), were the final arbiters in disputed questions. The tradition in Ex. 18 implies that Moses appointed a judicial body, somewhat similar to the one the existence of which is implied in Dt. 17⁸⁻¹¹. In II Chr. 19⁸⁻¹¹ the establishment of a central court of appeal, consisting of priests, Levites and the heads of the fathers' houses is attributed to Jehoshaphat. The late tradition may reflect historical facts, for the present law in Dt. implies that such a tribunal was in existence in the days of Josiah.

^m Dt. 17⁸ Lit., *between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke*, i. e., criminal, civil, and ceremonial cases. The latter refers to a stroke, like a plague, especially leprosy, in connection with which the priests were expected to render a decision.

Deuteronomic Codes

¹⁰Thou shalt also act according to the tenor of the sentence which they shall make known to thee from that place which Jehovah shall choose; and thou shalt do exactly as they direct thee, ¹¹according to the tenor of the instruction which they shall give thee, and according to the decision which they shall impart to thee, thou shalt do without departing from the sentence which they shall make known to thee, either to the right hand or to the left.

Its decisions to be faithfully executed

§ 48. Number of Witnesses Required to Convict, Dt. 19¹⁵, 17⁶, Nu. 35³⁰*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 19 ¹⁵One witness shall not stand up alone to testify against a man for any crime, nor for any sin which he hath committed.^a By the testimony of two or three witnesses must a matter be established. **17** ⁶On the testimony of two or three witnesses shall a man be condemned to death; he shall not be put to death on the testimony of one witness.

Two required to convict of a criminal offence

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 35 ³⁰In every case of murder, the murderer shall be put to death on the testimony of witnesses; on the testimony of but one witness shall no one suffer death.

§ 49. Duties of Witnesses, Ex. 23¹⁻³ [20¹⁶], Dt. 5²⁰, 17⁷, Lev. 19¹⁶, 5¹*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 23 ¹Thou shalt not spread abroad a false report. Do not enter into a conspiracy with a wicked man to be an unrighteous witness. ²Thou shalt not follow the majority in doing what is wrong. Thou shalt not bear testimony in a case so as to pervert justice.^o ³Thou shalt not show partiality to a poor man in his case.

To tell the truth and nothing but the truth

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 5 ²⁰Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor. **17**⁷The witnesses shall first raise their hands against a murderer to put him to death, and afterwards the hands of all the people. Thus thou shalt purge away the evil from thy midst.

To take the initiative in the execution of a murderer

§ 48 The eminent wisdom of this law, especially in capital offences, is obvious.

^a Dt. 19¹⁵ *I. e.*, a moral crime or some infringement of the ceremonial law.

§ 49 Prevarication is one of the most crying evils of the East. *A lie is the salt of a man* is too often accepted as good ethics. The Israelitish lawgivers strenuously sought to eliminate this deadly menace to the purity of the courts. The parties to a dispute were probably under obligation to produce their witnesses, as in ancient Babylonia under Hammurabi:

§ 13 *If a man has not his witnesses at hand, the judge shall set him a fixed time not exceeding six months, and if within six months he has not produced his witnesses, the man has lied; he shall bear the penalty of the suit.*

^o Ex. 23² Following a corrected text.

Holiness Code

Not to
repeat
malign
charges

Lev. 19 ¹⁶Thou shalt not go about as a tale bearer among thy people; nor shalt thou seek the blood of thy neighbor:^p I am Jehovah.

Priestly Codes

Not to
conceal
testi-
mony

Lev. 5 ¹If anyone sin when under oath as a witness by failing to give information concerning what he hath seen or known,^q he shall bear the consequences of his iniquity.

§ 50. Punishment of False Witnesses, Dt. 19^{16, 21}*Deuteronomic Codes*

To suf-
fer the
penalty
of the
crime
unjust-
ly
charged

Dt. 19 ¹⁶If a malicious witness stand up against a man to accuse him of treason,^r ¹⁷then both the men who have the dispute shall stand before Jehovah, before the priests and the judges who shall be officiating in those days; ¹⁸and the judges shall thoroughly investigate; and should it prove that the witness is a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his countryman, ¹⁹then shall ye do to him as he purposed to do to his fellow countryman; thus thou shalt purge away the evil from thy midst, ²⁰that those who remain may heed and fear, and never again commit any such crime in thy midst. ²¹And thou shalt not show pity;^s life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

§ 51. Execution of Judicial Sentence, Dt. 25^{2, 3}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Judge
to wit-
ness
cor-
poral
punish-
ment

Dt. 25 ²If a culprit deserve to be beaten, the judge shall make him lie down and be beaten in his presence with the number of blows corresponding to his crime. ³Forty blows may he inflict upon him, but no more, lest, if he add more beats than these, thy fellow countryman be held in contempt in thine eyes.

§ 52. Punishment for Contempt of Court, Dt. 17^{12, 13}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Refusal
to ac-
cept
sen-
tence of
su-
preme
tribu-
nal

Dt. 17 ¹²Should a man act presumptuously, so as not to hearken to the priest who standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or to the

^p Lev. 19¹⁶ *I. e.*, by trying to bring a capital charge against him and probably also by false testimony in the courts.

^q Lev. 5¹ *Lit.*, and heareth the voice of the oath, and is a witness whether he hath seen or known, if he do not give information.

^r Dt. 19¹⁶ *I. e.*, against law and custom.

§ 50 The justice of the law is self-evident; the laxness of our modern legal usage is in unfortunate contrast to it.

^s Dt. 19²¹ *Lit.*, thine eye shall not show pity.

§ 51 Punishment of the bastinado, as was common in Egypt, is evidently here contemplated. The law further voices the humane spirit of the Deuteronomic codes.

§ 52 The decision referred to is that of the central tribunal at Jerusalem. The severity of the punishment recalls Hammurabi's free use of the death penalty, or the barbarous severity of many of the old English laws. The law, however, was probably of the nature of a threat, for there is no evidence that it was actually enforced.

Deuteronomic Codes

judge, that man shall die. ¹³Thus thou shalt purge away the evil from Israel, that all the people may take heed, and fear, and never again act presumptuously.

§ 53. The Object of Cities of Refuge, Ex. 21¹²⁻¹⁴, Dt. 19¹⁻¹³, 4⁴¹⁻⁴³, Nu. 35⁹⁻¹⁵

Primitive Codes

Ex. 21 ¹²If a man strike another so that he die, the manslayer shall be put to death. ¹³If a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand, then I will appoint thee a place to which he may flee. ¹⁴If a man attack another maliciously to slay him by treachery, thou shalt take him from mine altar that he may be put to death.

Early law of altar-asylum

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 19 ¹When Jehovah thy God shall cut off the nations, whose land Jehovah thy God giveth thee, and thou shalt dispossess them, and shalt dwell in their cities, and in their houses, ²thou shalt set apart three cities for thyself in the midst of thy land, which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee as a possession. ³Thou shalt prepare the way, and divide the territory of thy land, which Jehovah thy God will let thee inherit, into three parts, that every manslayer may flee thither.

Three cities to be set aside as places of refuge

⁴And this is the rule in regard to the manslayer, who may flee thither and live: whoso killeth his neighbor accidentally without having been his enemy formerly, ⁵as for example when a man goeth into the forest with his neighbor to cut wood, and he swingeth the ax with his hand to cut down a tree, ^tand the head slippeth from the helve and striketh his neighbor, so that he die, the man shall flee to one of these cities and live; ⁶lest the avenger of blood pursue the manslayer, while he is enraged, ^uand overtake him, because the way is long, and take his life, although he did not deserve to die, since he was not formerly the dead man's enemy. ⁷Therefore I command that thou shalt set apart three cities. ⁸And if Jehovah thy God enlarge thy borders as he hath sworn to thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to give to thy fathers, ⁹if thou shalt keep all this command to do it, which I command thee this day, in that thou love Jehovah thy God, and walk ever in his ways, then shalt thou add three other cities, besides these three, ¹⁰that innocent blood may not be shed in the midst of thy land, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee as an inheritance, and thus blood-guilt be upon thee.

For the deliverance of the innocent manslayer

¹¹But if any man hate his neighbor, and lie in wait for him, and attack

But not of the murderer

§ 53 The relentless Semitic law of blood revenge made a place of refuge for the innocent manslayer a necessity among the Hebrews. As among most ancient peoples, the altar-asylum was an established institution in Israel. The law in Ex. 21¹⁴ aims to guard against its abuse. When all the high places outside Jerusalem, with their altars, were abolished by the Deuteronomic law and the reform measures of Josiah, it became necessary to establish convenient cities of refuge. Apparently the towns selected were the sites of ancient shrines (cf. Josh. 20⁷⁻⁸), thus comporting with the customs already fixed. Cf. also § 83.

^t Dt. 19⁵ Lit., *his hand impelleth with the ax to cut down the tree.*

^u Dt. 19⁶ Lit., *while his heart is hot.*

Deuteronomic Codes

him and strike him mortally so that he die, and the murderer flee to one of the cities of refuge, ¹²the elders of his city shall send and bring him, and deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that he may die. ¹³Thou shalt have no mercy on him, but shall purge away the innocent blood from Israel, that it may go well with thee.

4 ⁴¹Then Moses set apart three cities on the other side^v of the Jordan toward the sunrise, ⁴²that a manslayer who had slain his neighbor accidentally and without having been formerly his enemy might flee thither, and by fleeing to one of these cities might save his life: ⁴³Bezer in the wilderness on the table land for the Reubenites, Ramoth in Gilead for the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan for the Manassites.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 35 ⁹Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ¹⁰Speak thus to the Israelites, and say to them, 'When ye pass over the Jordan into the land of Canaan, ¹¹ye shall select as suitable for yourselves, cities to be cities of refuge for you, that the manslayer who killeth any person unintentionally may flee thither. ¹²And the cities shall be a refuge from the avenger of blood, that the manslayer may not be put to death until he can stand before the congregation for judgment. ¹³And the cities which ye shall give shall be for you six cities of refuge. ¹⁴Ye shall set apart three^w cities beyond Jordan, and three cities shall ye set apart in the land of Canaan; they shall be cities of refuge. ¹⁵These cities shall be a refuge for the Israelites and for the resident alien and the one who hath settled among them; that every one who hath killed another unintentionally may flee to them.'

D

POPULAR INSTRUCTION IN THE LAW

§ 54. Publishing the Law, Dt. 27^{1-4, 8}, Josh. 8^{30, 32}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 27 ¹Moses and the elders of Israel gave this command to the people: Keep all the commands which I lay upon you this day. ²And

^v Dt. 4⁴¹ *I. e.*, on the east side.

^w Nu. 35¹⁴ Cf. for these cities, Josh. 20^{7, 8}.

Popular Instruction in the Law.—The zeal of the authors of the Deuteronomic codes led them to resort to very positive means to impress the new law upon the popular consciousness. Their methods were similar to those of the great prophets like Isaiah. Just as he wrote his central teaching during the years 737–735 B.C. on a tablet and set it up before the people, Is. 8¹, so the prophetic reformers of the days of Josiah decreed that the essentials of the law should be published before the eyes of the people. The method may be traced back at least as far as the days of the great Hammurabi. Primitive tablets were probably thus set up in Solomon's temple. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 22. Doubtless the influence of the example of their Assyrian masters also affected the authors of Dt.

The public reading of the law by Josiah is recorded in II Kgs. 24². In the same way, a few years later, Baruch read certain of Jer.'s sermons to the people, Jer. 36¹⁰.

Through the emphasis which the Deuteronomic lawgivers placed upon the instruction

§ 54 These passages in Dt. and Josh. are both later products of the Deuteronomic school.

Deuteronomic Codes

when ye shall pass over the Jordan to the land which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee, thou shalt set up great stones and plaster them with plaster; ³and thou shalt inscribe upon them all the words of this law, when thou hast passed over, that thou mayst go into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, a land abounding in milk and honey, as the Lord the God of thy fathers hath promised thee. ⁴And when ye are passed over Jordan ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, on Mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaster them over with plaster. ⁸And thou shalt inscribe upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly and carefully.

Josh. 8 ³⁰Then Joshua built on Mount Ebal an altar to Jehovah the God of Israel, ³¹as Moses the servant of Jehovah had commanded the Israelites, as it is written in the law of Moses, an altar of unhewn stones, upon which no one had set a tool. And they offered burnt-offerings on it to Jehovah, and sacrificed peace-offerings. ³²And he inscribed there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he had written in the presence of the Israelites.

Execu-
tion of
the
com-
mand

§ 55. Public Reading of the Law, Dt. 31^{9,13}, Josh. 8^{33,35}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 31 ⁹Moses wrote this law and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, who bore the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, and to all the elders of Israel. ¹⁰And Moses gave them this command: At the end of seven years, in the year fixed for the release, at the feast of tabernacles, ¹¹when all Israel come to see^a the face of Jehovah thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law aloud before all Israel. ¹²Assemble the people, the men, the women and the children, as well as the aliens who reside within thy city, that they may hear, and learn, and fear Jehovah your God, and faithfully follow all the words of this law, ¹³and that their children who have not known may hear, and learn to fear Jehovah your God as long as ye live in the land which ye are going over the Jordan to possess.

Com-
mand
public-
ly to
read
the law
in the
seventh
year

Josh. 8 ³³And all Israel with their elders, officers, and judges were standing on each side of the ark before the priests, the Levites, who carried the ark of the covenant of Jehovah—the resident alien as well as the native born—half of them in front of Mount Gerizim, and half of them in front of Mount Ebal, as Moses the servant of Jehovah had commanded them at the first, that they should bless the people of Israel. ³⁴And afterwards Joshua read all the words of the law, the blessing and the curse, according to all that is written in the book of the law. ³⁵There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua did not read before all the assembly of Israel, and the women, and the little ones, and the resident aliens who were residing among them.

First
public
reading

of children by their parents, they laid the foundation of the later educational system which was the strength and glory of Judaism. The decalogue structure of the primitive laws suggests, however, that catechetical instruction began in the earliest period of Israel's history. These varied methods of inculcating the fundamental principles of the law proved effective, as the later character of the Jewish race amply demonstrates.

^a Dt. 31¹¹ Slightly revising the Heb. text. Heb., *appear before*.

§ 56. Instruction of Children, Dt. 6^{6,9, 20,25}, [11^{18,21}]*Deuteronomic Codes*

Con-
stantly
to
study
and in-
culcate
the law

Dt. 6 ⁶These words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart; ⁷and thou shalt impress^b them upon thy children, and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. ⁸Thou shalt bind them as a reminder on thy hand, and have them as bands on thy forehead between thine eyes, ⁹and thou shalt mark them on the posts of thy house and on thy doors.

His-
toric
reasons
for
keep-
ing the
law

²⁰When thy son asketh thee in the future, What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which Jehovah our God hath commanded you? ²¹then shalt thou say to thy son, We were Pharaoh's slaves in Egypt; but Jehovah brought us out of Egypt with a strong hand; ²²and Jehovah performed before our eyes great and destructive signs and wonders, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his household; ²³and he brought us out from there, that he might bring us in to give us the land which he swore to our fathers. ²⁴And Jehovah commanded us to act in accord with all these statutes, to fear Jehovah our God, that we might always prosper, and that he might preserve us alive, as at this day. ²⁵We shall be righteous if we observe faithfully this command before Jehovah our God, as he hath commanded us.

§ 56 The earnest exhortations of Dt. 6^{6-9, 20, 21} are repeated in slightly different form in 11¹⁸⁻²¹. These passages clearly reveal the educational aims of the Deuteronomic writers, who were powerfully influenced by the spirit and methods of the great prophets of the Assyrian period.

^b Dt. 6⁷ Lit., *prick in*.

CRIMINAL LAWS

CRIMINAL LAWS

I

CRIMES AGAINST JEHOVAH

§ 57. Worshipping Other Gods, Ex. 34¹⁴, 22¹⁹, 23^{13b}, [20³], Dt. 5⁷, 6¹⁴, 8¹⁹, 20[,]
30^{17, 18}, 11¹⁶, 17, 26, 28, 17^{2, 7}

Primitive Codes

Ex. 34 ¹⁴Thou shalt worship no other God, for Jehovah, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God^a.

22 ¹⁹Whoever sacrificeth to any god, except to Jehovah only,^b shall be placed under the ban.^c

23 ^{13b}Make no mention of the name of other gods, nor let it be heard on thy^d lips.^e

Absolute
loyalty
to Je-
hovah

Crimes against Jehovah.—The distinctive teaching which Moses impressed upon the early Israelites appears to have been that Jehovah demanded the entire loyalty and devotion of his people. The command is imbedded in the oldest decalogue, and is always given the position of chief prominence and authority. It was the corner stone of Israel's civic and religious life. The common worship of the same God bound together the ancestors of the Hebrews wandering in the wilderness. The battle cry which rallied the people in the days of the judges, was, *Come up to the help of Jehovah against the mighty*, Jud. 5²⁰. Loyalty to the God of the race was a stronger bond than even that of blood. Hence everything which tended to break down or weaken this bond was naturally regarded as treason.

When the Hebrews settled in Canaan and absorbed a large Canaanitish population and fell heir in time to the high places and institutions of the native races, the great struggle began between the more austere demand of the Jehovah worship and the invidious seductions of Canaanitish Baalism. When the latter in the days of Ahab and under the patronage of Jezebel threatened to win the day, Elijah appeared with his stern protest which at length found popular expression in the revolution of Jehu. When again under Manasseh the religious cults of Assyria and Babylonia gained the ascendancy in Judah, the reformation which followed, under Josiah, was characterized by great severity. Apostasy, being treason, is, according to the Deuteronomic codes to be punished by death. The struggle between the Jehovah religion, as interpreted by the great prophets of the Assyrian period, and heathenism, was so intense that the most humane of all the O.T. lawgivers showed no mercy. The comparative absence of kindred laws in the priestly codes indicates that when they were formulated the exile had done its work and the great crisis was over; the loyalty of a majority of the nation was forever assured.

^a Ex. 34¹⁴ This primitive law, preserved in the early Judean prophetic narratives, is introduced by, *for*. This was clearly added by the later prophetic editor to connect it with his exhortations against making covenants with foreign peoples. Possibly ^{14b} is from the same hand. Cf. Dt. 4²⁴, 5⁹, 6¹⁵.

^b Ex. 22¹⁹ Or Sam. and Gk. A., *to another god*. These texts also leave out, *except to Jehovah only*, which may be a later explanatory gloss.

^c Ex. 22¹⁹ Cf. Josh. 6¹⁷, 7 and Vol. I, § 110, note ^b. It sometimes has the meaning of, *utterly destroy*. In the earlier laws it probably meant the withdrawal of the protection of the tribe or nation and implied that Jehovah would execute the judgment. Dt. 20^{16, 17}.

^d Ex. 23^{13b} So Sam., supported by the rest of the vs. The Heb. has the pl.

^e Ex. 23^{13b} Lit., *heard out of thy lips*. The vs. in its present position in Ex. is probably secondary, but it may well represent an early Ephraimite duplicate of Ex. 34¹⁴.

Deuteronomic Codes

Conse-
quences
of dis-
loyalty

Dt. 5 ⁷Thou shalt have no other gods^f besides^g me.

6 ¹⁴Ye shall not go after other gods,—the gods of the peoples that are round about you^h—¹⁵for Jehovah thy God who is in the midst of thee is a jealous God; take heed lest the anger of Jehovah thy God be kindled against thee, and he destroy thee from off the face of the earth. **8** ¹⁹If thou shalt forget Jehovah thy God and shalt follow after other gods, and serve and worship them, I solemnly warn you this day that ye shall surely perish. ²⁰As the nations that Jehovah maketh to perish before you, so shall ye perish, because ye would not harken to the voice of Jehovah your God.

30 ¹⁷If thy heart is rebellious and thou dost not take heed but art drawn away, and worship other gods, and serve them, ¹⁸I declare to you this day, that ye shall surely perish; ye shall not enjoy long life in the land which thou art passing over the Jordan to go in to possess.ⁱ

11 ¹⁶Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them, ¹⁷and the anger of Jehovah be aroused against you, and he shut up the heavens, so that there shall be no more rain, and the land yield not its produce, and ye perish quickly from off the land which Jehovah is about to give you. ²⁶Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: ²⁷the blessing, if ye will heed the commands of Jehovah your God, which I command you this day; ²⁸and the curse, if ye will not heed the commands of Jehovah your God, but turn aside out of the way which I command you this day, in order to go after other gods, which ye have not known.

Proced-
ure in
punish-
ing dis-
loyalty
to Je-
hovah

17 ²¹If there be found in the midst of thee, within any of thy cities which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee, a man or a woman, who doeth that which is evil in the sight of Jehovah thy God, in transgressing his covenant, ³and hath gone and served other gods and worshipped them, or the sun, or the moon, or the host of heaven, which I have not commanded, ⁴and it be reported to thee and thou hast heard of it, then shalt thou investigate thoroughly, and if it prove to be true and be established that such abomination hath been committed in Israel, ⁵then thou shalt bring forth that man or woman, who hath done this evil, to thy gates, even the man or the woman; and thou shalt stone them to death. ⁶On the testimony of two or three witnesses shall he who is condemned be put to death. He shall not be put to death on the testimony of one witness. ⁷The hand of the witness shall first be raised against him to put him to death, and then the hands of all the people. Thus thou shalt purge the evil from thy midst.

^f Dt. 57 The Heb. may also be translated *god*. So Luc., Targ., and Gk. A.

^g Dt. 57 The duplicate of Ex. 20³. The Heb. expression which means lit. *in my face*, or *in my presence*, or *before my face*, is translated as above in accord with its obvious meaning in Gen. 28⁹, 31⁵⁰, Lev. 18¹⁸, where it signifies to have a rival. In Job 1¹¹, 21³¹, Is. 65³ it means *before or openly*. The command appears to demand that Jehovah's people shall give him the first place in their hearts, but also that they shall pay fealty to no other rival deity.

^h Dt. 6¹⁴ The late prophetic addition in Ex. 23²⁴, ²⁵ repeats the injunctions of Dt. 6¹⁴ and 8¹⁹.

ⁱ Dt. 30¹⁷, ¹⁸ In view of their awkward connection with the context it seems probable that these vss. belong to a secondary section of the book of Dt.

§ 58. Apostasy, Dt. 13¹⁻¹⁸

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 13 ¹If there arise in the midst of thee a prophet, or one who dreams dreams, and he give thee a sign or portent, ²and the sign or portent come to pass, in connection with which he spoke to thee, saying, Let us go after other gods which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; ³thou shalt not listen to the words of that prophet, or to that one who dreams dreams; for Jehovah your God is testing you to know whether ye love Jehovah your God with all your heart and with all your soul.^j ⁴Ye shall follow Jehovah your God and fear him, and keep his commands, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him, and remain true to him.^k ⁵That prophet or that one who dreams dreams shall be put to death, because, against Jehovah your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt and redeemed thee out of the condition of slavery, he hath spoken treason,^l in order to draw thee aside out of the way in which Jehovah thy God commanded thee to walk. Thus shalt thou purge away the evil from thy midst.

Death penalty for an apostate prophet

⁶If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, who is dear to thee as thy own soul, should entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy father hast known, ⁷certain of the gods of the surrounding peoples, either near thee or far from thee, from one end of the earth to the other,^m ⁸thou shalt not yield nor listen to him, nor show pity to him, neither shalt thou spare him, nor shalt thou hide him from justice, ⁹but thou shalt surely kill him; thy hand shall be first raised against him to put him to death, then the hands of all the people. ¹⁰And thou shalt stone him to death, because he hath sought to draw thee away from Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt when thou wast a slave. ¹¹Thus all Israel shall hear and fear, and shall never again do any such wickedness as this is in thy midst.

Even for a near relative or friend

¹²If thou shalt hear this report regarding one of thy cities, which Jehovah is about to give thee in which to dwell: ¹³Certain fellows have gone out from thy midst and have drawn away the inhabitants of their city, saying, 'Let us go and serve other gods,' which ye have not known, ¹⁴then thou shalt inquire and investigate, and carefully ascertain the facts. If it prove true and be established that such an abomination hath been committed in thy midst, ¹⁵thou shalt surely put the inhabitants of that city to the sword, destroying it utterly and all that is in it.ⁿ ¹⁶And thou shalt gather all its spoil

An apostate city to be destroyed with all its inhabitants

§ 58 Religious impostors, sometimes doubtless self-deceived, have been from time immemorial, the bane of the East, which is always attentive to the *man of the spirit*. From the days of Ahab, 1 Kgs. 22, until the days of Nehemiah these false prophets were not only misleading the people, but also undermining the influence of the true men of God. In the days of Jer. they appear to have been most common and active.

^j Dt. 13^{3b}. ⁴ The sudden transition to the plural perhaps indicates that these vss. are a later insertion. The Gk. has the plural in ^{3a}. Possibly the variations are simply scribal errors.

^k 13⁴ Lit., *cling to*.

^l 13⁵ Or, *rebellion*.

^m 13⁷ The reference is primarily to the Assy. and Bab. cults which came in during the days of Manasseh and the exile. The Heb. has the plural in the first part of the vs.

ⁿ 13¹⁵ So Gk. The Heb. adds awkwardly, *and its cattle with the edge of the sword*.

Deuteronomic Codes

into the midst of its open space and shalt burn with fire the city and all its spoil as a whole burnt-offering to Jehovah thy God; and it shall remain a heap^o forever, it shall never be rebuilt. ¹⁷Let nothing of the devoted thing cling to thy hand, that Jehovah may turn from his hot anger and show mercy to thee, and that in his mercy he may make thee great, as he promised with an oath to thy fathers, ¹⁸if thou wilt listen to the voice of Jehovah thy God by keeping all his commands which I am giving thee to-day and by doing what is right in his sight.

§ 59. Idolatry, Ex. 34¹⁷, 20^{23b}, [4.6], Dt. 5⁸⁻¹⁰, 16²¹, 22 12¹⁻⁴ 7⁵ 27¹⁵, 4¹⁵⁻²⁸, Lev. 19⁴, 26¹

Primitive Codes

Prohibition of molten idols

Ex. 34 ¹⁷Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

Ex. 20 ^{23b}Gods of silver and gods of gold thou shalt not make for thyself.^p

Deuteronomic Codes

Of images of all kinds

Dt. 5 ⁸Thou shalt not make for thyself a graven image,^q nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or is in the water under the earth; ⁹thou shalt not worship them nor serve them; for I, Jehovah thy God, am a jealous God, one who visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the third and fourth generations of those who hate me, ¹⁰but one who shows favor to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments.^r

Of all heathen symbols

16 ²¹Thou shalt not plant an asherah,^s which thou shalt make of any kind of tree, beside the altar of Jehovah thy God; ²²neither shalt thou set up a pillar which Jehovah thy God hateth.

To destroy all heathen shrines and symbols

12 ¹These are the statutes and the judicial decisions which ye shall faithfully observe in the land which Jehovah, the God of thy fathers hath given thee as a possession, all the days that ye may live upon the earth. ²Ye

^o 13¹⁶ Lit., a *tel*, i. e., a mound made by ruins.

§ 59 From their ancestors the Hebrews inherited the primitive custom of representing the Deity in wood or stone. The oldest idols appear to have been sacred stones, in which the god was supposed to dwell. In time these were cut into the shape of animals or human beings. Micah's ephod, Judg. 17, the family god in David's home, 1 Sam. 19¹³, the calves overlaid with gold in the royal sanctuary of Northern Israel, and the silence of the earlier prophets all indicate that idolatry was not absolutely forbidden by Israel's early teachers. Gradually, however, as their conception of the Deity broadened and the evils inherent in idolatry became apparent, the people began to view these popular symbols with suspicion. Hosea speaks scornfully of the calf of Samaria, 10⁵; by the time of Josiah idols were placed under the ban.

The commands of the successive codes record the development of the higher ideal. First the expensive molten gods, probably made by foreign craftsmen and fashioned after heathen models, were forbidden. Finally in the prophetic decalogue of Ex. 20 and Dt. 5 all forms of idols are absolutely discarded. The law is made very explicit to eliminate all possibility of error.

^p Ex. 20^{23b} Heb., for yourselves; but the original form was probably in the singular as in the following vs. The plural is apparently due to the influence of the plural in the later addition in 20²².

^q Dt. 5⁸ The original command probably consisted simply of this first sentence. The rest is explanatory and hortatory.

^r Dt. 5⁸⁻¹⁰ The duplicate is found in Ex. 20⁴⁻⁶.

^s Dt. 16²¹ *I. e.*, one of the sacred poles, reared probably as symbols of the sacred trees, worshipped in ancient times.

Deuteronomic Codes

shall destroy all the places in which the nations, that ye shall dispossess, served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills and under every green tree; ³and ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and burn their asherahs with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods; and ye shall destroy their name out of that place. ⁴To Jehovah your God ye shall not do as they do^t.

⁷ ⁵Thus shall ye do to them: ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and hew down their asherahs, and burn their graven images with fire.

²⁷ ¹⁵Cursed be the man who makes a graven or molten image, an abomination to Jehovah, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and setteth it up in secret. And all the people shall answer and say, So may it be. Public
con-
demna-
tion

⁴ ¹⁵Take good heed to yourselves—for ye saw no manner of form in the day that Jehovah spoke to you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire^u—¹⁶lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make for yourselves a graven image in the form of a statue, the likeness of male or female, ¹⁷the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged bird that flieth in the heavens, ¹⁸the likeness of anything that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the water under the earth; ¹⁹and lest thou lift up thine eyes to heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them, and serve these objects which Jehovah thy God hath allotted to all the peoples under the whole heaven. ²⁰But you Jehovah hath taken and brought forth from the iron furnace, out of Egypt, that you may be a people, his own inheritance, as you now are. ²¹Moreover Jehovah was angry with me because of you, and swore that I should not go over the Jordan and that I should not go in to that good land, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee as an inheritance; ²²but I must die in this land, I cannot go over the Jordan; but ye shall go over and possess that good land. ²³Take heed to yourselves, lest you forget the covenant of Jehovah your God, which he made with you, and make for yourselves a graven image in the form of anything which Jehovah thy God hath forbidden thee. ²⁴For Jehovah thy God is a devouring fire, a jealous God!

²⁵When children, and children's children shall be born, and ye shall have been long in the land, and shall corrupt yourselves, and make a graven image in the form of anything, and shall do that which is evil in the sight of Jehovah thy God, to provoke him to anger, ²⁶I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon perish completely from the land which ye are going over the Jordan to possess; ye shall not remain many years upon it, but shall be completely destroyed. ²⁷Jehovah will also scatter you among the peoples, and only a small number of you shall be left among the nations, among whom Jehovah shall lead you away. ²⁸And there ye shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see nor hear nor eat nor smell. Exile
the
penalty
for
idolatry

^t Dt. 12⁴ I. e., worship him at the same places and with the same rites.

^u Dt. 4¹⁵ This and the following vss. also belong to a later stratum in the Deuteronomic codes.

Over

Holiness Code

Jehovah, not idols, the true object of worship

✓ **Lev. 19** ⁴Turn not to idols,^v nor make for yourselves molten gods: I am Jehovah your God.

✓ **26** ¹Ye shall make you no idols, nor shall ye erect for yourselves a graven image or a pillar, nor shall ye set up any figured stone in your land, to bow down to it: for I am Jehovah your God.

§ 60. **Sorcery and Divination**, Ex. 22¹⁸, Dt. 18⁹⁻¹⁴, Lev. 18³, 20²³, 27, 19^{26b}, 31, 20⁶

Primitive Codes

Death for the sorceress

Ex. 22 ¹⁸A sorceress shall not live.^w

Deuteronomic Codes

No form of heathen superstition to be tolerated

Dt. 18 ⁹When thou comest into the land which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee, thou shalt not learn to imitate the abominations of these nations. ¹⁰There shall none be found with thee who maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or who obtaineth oracles by lot, or a diviner,^a or one who observeth omens,^b or a sorcerer,¹¹ or a charmer, or a medium,^c or a wizard, or a necromancer. ¹²For whoever doeth these things is an abomination to Jehovah; and because of these abominations Jehovah thy God is driving them out before thee. ¹³Thou shalt be perfect with Jehovah thy God. ¹⁴For these nations, that thou shalt dispossess, give heed to those who practice augury and to diviners; but as for thee, Jehovah thy God hath not permitted thee so to do.

Holiness Code

To avoid all heathen customs

Lev. 18 ³Ye shall not imitate the customs of the land of Egypt, in which ye dwelt, nor the customs of the land of Canaan, whither I am bringing you; neither shall ye follow their established usages. ²⁴Defile not yourselves in any of these ways, for in all these ways have the nations which I am casting out from before you defiled themselves. **20** ²³And ye shall not follow the established usages of the nations,^d which I am casting out before you; for they did all these things; therefore I abhorred them.

27 A man or a woman who is a medium or a wizard shall surely be put

^v Lev. 19⁴ Or, *do not regard unreal gods*; lit., *unreal thing*. The later priestly writers frequently use this contemptuous term as a synonym of idol.

§ 60 In I Sam. 28⁹ it is stated that Saul drove out the wizards and mediums from his kingdom, but in his last extremity Israel's first king is represented as resorting to one of the representatives of the occult arts. The better sense of Israel's prophets and lawgivers revolted against these survivals of a heathen past, as did also the more enlightened leaders of Assyria and Greece. The sorceress with her evil craft probably represents these cults in the primitive codes; but in Dt. they are all classed together and placed under the ban of divine disapproval.

^w Ex. 22¹⁸ R. V., *thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live*, but the above trans. is supported by the Heb., and the fact that the second person is not used in the context of the civil decalogues, cf. *Intro.*, p. 23.

^a Dt. 18¹⁰ The exact form of divination is not known. Possibly it was by examining the form of the liver of sacrificial animals, as among the Babylonians and many ancient peoples.

^b Dt. 18¹⁰ Probably the flight of birds.

^c Dt. 18¹¹ Gk., *ventriloquists*, cf. I Sam. 28.

^d Lev. 20²³ So Sam., Gk., Syr. and Targ. Heb., *nation*.

Holiness Code

to death; ye shall stone them^e; they shall be responsible for their own death.

19 ^{26b}Ye shall not practise augury or divination.

³¹Turn ye not to those who are mediums or wizards; seek them not out to be defiled by them: I am Jehovah your God.

20 ⁶Against the person who turns to those who are mediums or wizards, to practise apostasyⁱ with them, I will indeed set my face, and I will cut him off from among his people.

§ 61. Sacrifice of Children to Heathen Gods, Dt. 12^{29, 31}, 18^{10a}, Lev. 18^{21a}, 20^{2, 5}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 12 ²⁹When Jehovah thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, which thou art going in to dispossess, and thou hast dispossessed them and dwellest in their land, ³⁰take heed to thyself that thou be not ensnared after them, when they have been destroyed from before thee, and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How do these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise. ³¹Thou shalt not do thus to Jehovah thy God; because every abomination which Jehovah hateth have they done to their gods; for even their sons and their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods. 18 ^{10a}None who maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire shall be found with thee.

Not to imitate the hideous rite

Priestly Codes

Lev. 18 ^{21a}And thou shalt not give any of thy offspring to make them pass through the fire to Molech. 20 ²Moreover, thou shalt say to the Israelites, Any one of the Israelites or of the aliens who reside in Israel, who giveth of his offspring to Molech, shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him.^g ³I will also turn against^h that man and will cut him off from among his people; because he hath given of his offspring to Molech, to defile my sanctuary and to profane my holy name. ⁴And if the people of the land do at all shut their eyes to that man's doings, when he giveth of his offspring to Molech, and fail to put him to death, ⁵then I will turn against that man and his family, and will cut him off, and all from among their people who follow after him to practice apostasyⁱ with Molech.

Death the penalty

^a Lev. 20²⁷ So Gk. Heb., *they shall be stoned*.

ⁱ Lev. 20⁹ Lit., *play the harlot after*. i. e., be disloyal to Jehovah.

§ 61 Human sacrifice was apparently a common practice among the ancient inhabitants of Palestine. The many skeletons of children found in the temple precincts of the ruins at Gezer and Taanach and the frequent allusions to it in the O.T. confirm this conjecture. The ancient Hebrews shared the Canaanitish belief that every first-born child belonged to the Deity. In the times of calamity the first impulse in the minds of the people was to win Jehovah's favor by human sacrifice, Mi. 6⁷. When heathen influence was strong, as in the days of Ahaz and Manasseh, the same barbarous practice came into vogue. In the valley of Hinnom to the south of Jerusalem the Hebrews had been wont to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, Jer. 7³¹, 32, 19⁵, Ps. 106^{37, 38}. These references suggest, however, that the crime was committed in the later days only in the name of Baal or Molech (or Milk, *Kinn*). The expression, *to make to pass through the fire*, appears to refer to the same rite, probably designating some peculiar form of human sacrifice.

^g Lev. 20^{2b} This seems to be taken from the Holiness Code.

^h Lev. 20³ Heb., *set my face against*. So in ⁵.

ⁱ Lev. 20⁵ Lit., *play the harlot*; as elsewhere, ceremonial rather than social crimes are evidently in the mind of the author.

§ 62. **Blasphemy**, Ex. 22^{28a} [207], Dt. 5¹¹, Lev. 19¹², 18^{21b}, 24^{15b}, 16, 10.13, 23

Primitive Codes

Not to revile God **Ex. 22** ^{28a}Thou shalt not revile God.

Deuteronomic Codes

Not to misuse his name **Dt. 5** ¹¹Thou shalt not invoke the name of Jehovah thy God falsely,^j for Jehovah will not hold him guiltless who taketh his name falsely.

Holiness Code

Not to profane it **Lev. 19** ¹²Ye shall not swear by my name falsely, so as to profane the name of thy God: I am Jehovah.

18 ^{21b}Thou shalt not profane the name of thy God: I am Jehovah.

Penalty for blasphemy **24** ^{15b}Whoever curseth his God shall bear the consequences of his sin. ¹⁶And he who blasphemeth the name of Jehovah, shall surely be put to death; all the congregation shall surely stone him; the resident alien, as well as the native, when he blasphemeth the Name, shall be put to death^k.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

A traditional case **Lev. 24** ¹⁰The son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, went out among the Israelites;¹ and the son of the Israelitish woman and a man of Israel strove together in the camp, ¹¹and the son of the Israelitish woman blasphemed the Name and reviled; and they brought him to Moses. And his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan. ¹²And they put him in prison until Jehovah's will should be disclosed to them.

Public stoning the penalty ¹³Then Jehovah commanded Moses, Lead him who hath reviled outside the camp; and let all who heard him lay their hands on his head; then let all the congregation stone him. ²³So Moses spoke to the Israelites, and they led him who had reviled outside the camp and stoned him. Thus the Israelites did as Jehovah commanded Moses.

§ 63. **False Prophecy**, Dt. 18^{18.22}

Deuteronomic Codes

Death the penalty **Dt. 18** ^{18a}A prophet like Moses will I raise up to them from time to time from their fellow countrymen; I will put my messages in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him. ¹⁹And if any one will not give heed to my words which he shall speak in my name, I will exact punishment of him. ²⁰But the prophet who shall presume to deliver a message in my name, which I have not commanded him to deliver, or shall speak in the name of other gods, that prophet shall die.

^j Dt. 5¹¹ Cf. Ex. 23¹ *Take up a false report*, Nu. 23⁷, Ps. 15³, 81², 16⁴, 24⁴, *He who hath not lifted up his soul to falsehood or sworn deceitfully*. Also Is. 5¹⁸, Ezek. 12²⁴, 13⁶⁻⁹. The idiom seems to mean to desecrate the name of God by swearing to what is not true, or by cursing another, or in connection with any form of sorcery or witchcraft.

^k Lev. 24^{16b} Evidently a scribal addition, for it has an expression, *congregation*, not found in the Holiness Code and is but a duplicate of ^{16a}.

¹ Lev. 24¹⁰⁻¹³, 23 A precedent introduced by a late priestly editor.

§ 63 Cf. note § 50.

Deuteronomic Codes

²¹And if thou shalt think to thyself, How shall we recognize the message which Jehovah hath not spoken? ²²then know that if a prophet speak in the name of Jehovah, and the prediction be not fulfilled, follow not, nor come to pass, that it is a prediction which Jehovah hath not spoken. The prophet hath spoken it presumptuously; thou need not be afraid of him.

Test of
true
prophecy

§ 64. Desecration of Sacred Things, Lev. 19^{30b}, 22^{3b}, Nu. 18²², 3^{38b}, 4^{17.20}
Lev. 7^{20, 21}

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ^{30b}Reverence my sanctuary: I am Jehovah.

Temple

²² ^{3b}If^m any man among yourselves or your descendantsⁿ approach the holy things which the Israelites have consecrated to Jehovah, having his uncleanness upon him, that one shall be cut off from my presence: I am Jehovah.

Exclusion of
all but
the
priests

Priestly Codes

Nu. 18 ²²Henceforth the Israelites shall not come near the tent of meeting, lest they bear the consequences of their sin and die.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 3 ^{38b}The stranger that cometh near the dwelling shall be put to death.

Death
the
penalty

4 ¹⁷And Jehovah spoke thus to Moses and Aaron, ¹⁸Cut ye not off the tribe of the families of the Kohathites from among the Levites; ¹⁹but thus do to them, that they may live and not die, when they approach the most holy things: Aaron and his sons shall go in, and appoint each of them to his service and to his burden; ²⁰but they shall not go in to see the holy things even for a moment, lest they die.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 7 ²⁰One who eateth of the flesh of the peace-offerings which belong to Jehovah, having his uncleanness upon him, shall be cut off from his people. ²¹And when any one toucheth an unclean thing, the uncleanness of man, or an unclean beast, or any unclean swarming creature,^o and eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace-offerings, which belong to Jehovah, that one shall be cut off from his people.

Penalty
for pol-
luting
sacred
food

§ 65. Labor on the Sabbath, Ex. 34²¹, 23¹² [20⁸⁻¹¹], Dt. 5¹²⁻¹⁵, Lev. 19^{3b} [20^{a1}], 26^{2a},
Ex. 35^{2, 3}, 31^{13b.17}, Nu. 15^{32.36}

Primitive Codes

Ex. 34 ²¹Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest; in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.

Rest
from all
labor

§ 64 These laws are peculiar to the exilic and post-exilic codes in which the sanctity of holy things is especially emphasized.

^m Lev. 22^{3b} A scribe has appended, *Say to them.*

ⁿ Lev. 22^{3b} Lit., *throughout your generations*; this is evidently a gloss.

^o Lev. 7²¹ So the Gk., Syr., and San., Heb., *detestable thing.*

§ 65 In the oldest codes the sabbath rest is simply enjoined for social and humane reasons. Nor until it was made a religious institution by later Judaism, was labor on that day punished

Primitive Codes

23 ¹²Six days thou shalt do thy work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and that the son of thy female slave and the resident alien may be refreshed.

Deuteronomic Codes

Conse-
crated
to rest
for
work-
ing
beast
and
man

Dt. 5 ¹²Observe the sabbath day to keep it holy, as Jehovah thy God commanded thee. ¹³Six days thou shalt labor, and do all thy work; ¹⁴but the seventh day is a sabbath to Jehovah thy God; in it thou shalt do no work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy male or female slave, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor the alien who resideth within thy city, that thy male and female slave may rest as well as thou. ¹⁵Thou shalt also remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt and that Jehovah thy God brought thee out from there by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.^p

Holiness Code

To be
faith-
fully
kept

Lev. 19 ^{3b}Ye shall keep my sabbaths: I am Jehovah your God.^q

26 ^{2a}Ye shall keep my sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary.

Priestly Codes

Death
to one
who
labors
on Je-
hovah's
day

Ex. 35 ²Six days shall work be done;^r but on the seventh ye shall have a day consecrated to Jehovah, a sabbath of complete rest;^s whoever doeth any work in it shall be put to death. ³Ye shall kindle no fire in any of your dwellings on the sabbath.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Sab-
bath
the sign
of the
cove-
nant
be-
tween
Jeho-
vah
and his
people

Ex. 31 ^{13b}Ye shall surely keep my sabbaths, for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am Jehovah who am sanctifying you.^t ¹⁴Ye shall keep the sabbath, therefore, for it is holy to you; every one who profaneth it shall surely be put to death; for whoever doeth any work in it, that one shall be cut off from among his people. ¹⁵Six days shall work be done,^u but on the seventh day is a sabbath of complete rest, holy to Jehovah; whoever doeth any work on the sabbath, shall surely be put to death. ¹⁶Therefore the Israelites shall keep the sabbath, by observing the sabbath throughout their generations, as a perpetual covenant. ¹⁷It is a sign between me and the Israelites forever, for in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested and was refreshed.^v

A tra-
ditional
prece-
dent

Nu. 15 ³²While the Israelites were in the wilderness, they found a man gathering sticks on the sabbath. ³³And those who found him gathering

as a crime. The traditional precedent of Nu. 15³²⁻³⁶ is one of the latest additions to the Pentateuch. Cf. notes §§ 210, 217.

^p Dt. 5¹²⁻¹⁵ The version of Ex. 20⁸⁻¹¹ is nearly identical.

^q Lev. 19^{3b} This injunction is repeated in ^{20a}.

^r Ex. 35² Gk. and Sam., *shalt thou work*.

^s Ex. 35² Or. cf. 16²³ and 31¹⁵, *a day holy to Jehovah, a sabbath of solemn rest*.

^t Ex. 31^{13b}. While these vss. have many of the idioms and ideas of the Holiness Code, they abound in the expressions peculiar to the later additions to the priestly codes. For an attempt to distinguish the earlier nucleus, cf. § 217.

^u Ex. 31¹⁵ Gk., *shalt thou work*.

^v Ex. 31¹⁷ Cf. Gen. 2^{1, 3}.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

sticks brought him to Moses and Aaron and to all the congregation. ³⁴And they put him in confinement, because it had not been clearly explained what should be done to him. ³⁵Then Jehovah said to Moses, The man shall surely be put to death; all the congregation shall stone him outside the camp. ³⁶So all the congregation led him outside the camp, and stoned him to death, as Jehovah commanded Moses.

II

CRIMES AGAINST THE STATE

§ 66. Bribery, Ex. 23³, Dt. 16^{19b}, 27²⁵

Primitive Codes

Ex. 23 ⁸Thou shalt take no bribe, for a bribe blindeth those who see, ^{Pro-}hibition
and perverteth the cause of the righteous.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 16 ^{19b}Thou shalt not take a bribe, for a bribe blindeth the eyes of the wise and subverteth the cause of the righteous.

27 ²⁵Cursed be he who taketh a bribe to condemn an innocent person. ^{Public} con-
And all the people shall say, So let it be. demna-
tion

§ 67. Perverting Justice, Ex. 23^{1,3, 6, 7}, Dt. 16^{19a, 20}, Lev. 19¹⁵ [35a]

Primitive Codes

Ex. 23 ¹Thou shalt not spread abroad^a a false report. Do not enter ^{Not to}
into a conspiracy with^b a wicked man to be an unrighteous witness. ^{thwart}
Thou shalt not follow the majority in doing wrong. Thou shalt not bear testimony ^{justice}
in a case,^c so as to pervert justice. ^{either}
³Thou shalt not show partiality to a poor man in his cause. ^{as wit-}
⁶Thou shalt not prevent justice being done to thy poor in his cause. ^{ness or}
⁷Keep aloof from every false matter; and do not condemn ^{judge}
the innocent^d or him who has a just cause. Do not vindicate^e a wicked man.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 16 ^{19a}Thou shalt not pervert justice. Thou shalt not show partiality. ^{Abso-}
²⁰Justice, and only justice shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live ^{lute im-}
and inherit the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee. ^{partial-}
ity

Crimes against the State.—Since in most criminal offences Jehovah or else, as in murder, the family of the slain was regarded as the plaintiff, few misdemeanors were classed in Heb. law as crimes against the state. They were limited simply to those acts which endanger the integrity of the public tribunals.

^a Ex. 23¹ Lit., *take up*. The same word is used in Ex. 20⁷.

^b Ex. 23¹ Lit., *put thy hand with*.

^c Ex. 23² Omitting the clause, *to turn aside after the majority*, which is apparently a verbal repetition of the preceding clause. Gk., *so as to pervert justice*.

^d Ex. 23⁷ Lit., *slay*.

^e Ex. 23⁷ Following the obviously superior reading of the Gk. and Sam.

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ¹⁵Ye shall do no injustice in rendering a judicial decision. Thou shalt not show partiality to the poor nor have undue consideration for the powerful; but justly shalt thou judge thy neighbor.

§ 68. Perjury, Dt. 5²⁰ [Ex. 20¹⁶], Dt. 19^{16, 21}, Lev. 19¹²

Deuteronomic Code

Dt. 5 ²⁰Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

19 ¹⁶If a malicious witness stand up against a man to accuse him of treason, ¹⁷then both the men who have the dispute shall stand before Jehovah, before the priests and the judges who shall be officiating in those days; ¹⁸and the judges shall thoroughly investigate, and should it prove that the witness is a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his fellow countryman, ¹⁹then shall ye do to him, as he had purposed to do to his fellow countryman; thus shalt thou purge away the evil from thy midst. ²⁰And those who remain shall hear and fear, and never again do any such evil in thy midst. ²¹Thou shalt show no pity; life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ¹²Ye shall not swear by my name falsely, so as to profane the name of thy God: I am Jehovah.

§ 69. Deliberate Defiance of the Law, Dt. 17^{12, 13}, Nu. 15^{30, 31}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 17 ¹²Should a man act so presumptuously as not to hearken to the priest who standeth to minister there before Jehovah thy God, or to the judge, that man shall die; thus thou shalt purge away the evil from Israel, ¹³so that all the people may hear, and fear, and never again act presumptuously.

Priestly Codes

Nu. 15 ³⁰A person who acts wilfully, whether he is a native or a resident alien, the same blasphemeth Jehovah; and that one shall be cut off from among his kinsmen. ³¹Because he hath despised the word of Jehovah and hath broken his command, that one shall utterly be cut off; he shall bear the consequences of his iniquity.

§ 68 Here the penalty enjoined in the Deuteronomic codes and that of Hammurabi is substantially the same:

§ 3 If a man has borne false witness in a trial, or has not established the statement that he has made, if that case be a capital trial, that man shall be put to death. § 4. If he has borne false witness in a civil law case, he shall pay the damages in that suit.

§ 69 The law in Dt. 17^{12, 13} deals simply with a case which had been decided by the central tribunal at Jerusalem.

III

CRIMES AGAINST MORALITY AND DECENCY

§ 70. Adultery, Dt. 5¹⁸ [Ex. 20¹⁴], Dt. 22^{22, 24}, Lev. 18²⁰, 20¹⁰,
Nu. 5^{12b, 13a, c, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26a, 27b, 31}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 5¹⁸ Thou shalt not commit adultery.

22²² If a man be found lying with a married woman, they shall both of them die, the man who lay with the woman and the woman; thus shalt thou purge away the evil from Israel.

23²³ If a man find in the city a young woman who is a virgin betrothed to a husband, and lie with her, ²⁴then ye shall bring them both out to the gate of that city and stone them to death, the damsel because she did not cry out, although she was in the city, and the man because he hath seduced his neighbor's wife; thus shalt thou purge away the evil from thy midst.

Pro-
hibition
Death
the
penalty

Also in
case of
a be-
trothed
virgin

Holiness Code

Lev. 18²⁰ Thou shalt not enter into illicit intercourse with thy neighbor's wife to defile thyself with her.

20¹⁰ If a man commit adultery^f with his neighbor's wife, the adulterer as well as the adultrss shall be put to death.

Later
prohi-
bition

Priestly Codes

Nu. 5^{12b} If a man's wife turn aside^g and is unfaithful to him, ^{13a, c} and a man enter into illicit relations with her and it be hid from her husband, and there be no witness against her and she be not caught in the act, ¹⁵then the man shall take his wife to the priest, and shall bring an offering for her, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it nor put frankincense on it, for it is a cereal-offering of jealousy, a memorial cereal-offering, bringing iniquity to remembrance. ¹⁸Then the priest shall place the woman before Jehovah, and loosen the hair of the woman's head, and put in her hands the memorial cereal-offering, which is the cereal-offering of jealousy, and the priest shall hold in his hand the water of bitterness which causeth the curse.

Proced-
ure in
case of
a sus-
pected
wife

21¹ Then the priest shall make the woman swear with the oath of execration, The

oath of
execra-
tion

§ 70 Most primitive people dealt very severely with the crime of adultery. Thus the code of Hammurabi decrees that:

§ 129 *If a man's wife be caught lying with another, they shall be strangled and cast into the water. If the wife's husband would save his wife, the king can save his servant.*

The aim in all these laws was clearly to preserve intact the integrity and purity of the family and clan. The laxness of public opinion and modern laws in dealing with this most hideous of crimes, which condemns families and individuals to lives of unspeakable pain and ignominy, stands in disgraceful contrast to the attitude of the ancients who classed it with murder.

¹ Lev. 20¹⁰ A scribe has added by mistake, *with another man's wife, even he who committeth adultery.*

^g Nu. 5^{12b} Cf. note § 10 for the reasons for the analysis here presented. This law is one of the earlier sections of the priestly codes, but it evidently reproduces a very primitive custom.

Priestly Codes

and the priest shall say to the woman, Jehovah make you an execration and an oath among thy people, when Jehovah causeth thy thigh to fall away, and thy body to swell. ²³Then the priest shall write these execrations in a book, and he shall wipe them off into the water of bitterness, ²⁴and he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness that causeth the curse, so that the water that causeth the curse may enter into her and become bitter. ^{26a}The priest shall also take a handful of the cereal-offering, as its memorial-offering, and burn it upon the altar. ^{27b}Thus the woman shall become an execration among her people. ³¹The man shall be free from guilt, but that woman must bear her own guilt.

§ 71. Illicit Intercourse, Lev. 19^{20, 22}

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ²⁰If any man lieth carnally with a woman, who is a slave, betrothed to another man, but who has in nowise been redeemed nor given her freedom, there shall be a judicial inquiry, but they shall not be put to death,^h because she was not free.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 19 ²¹The man shall bring his guilt-offering to Jehovah, to the entrance of the tent of meeting, a ram as a guilt-offering; ²²and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt-offering before Jehovah for his sin which he hath committed; then the sin which he hath committed shall be forgiven him.

§ 72. Unlawful Marriage, Dt. 22³⁰, 27^{20, 22, 23}, Lev. 18^{6, 18}, 20^{11, 12, 14, 17, 20, 21}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 22 ³⁰A man shall not marry his father's wife, and shall not uncover his father's skirt.

27 ²⁰Cursed be he who lieth with his father's wife, because he hath uncovered his father's skirt. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

²²Cursed be he who lieth with his half-sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

²³Cursed be he who lieth with his mother-in-law. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

Holiness Code

Lev. 18 ⁶None of you shall approach any who are closely related to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am Jehovah. ⁷The nakedness of thy father and the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover; she is thy mother;

^h Lev. 19²⁰ Or, he shall be examined, but he shall not die.

⁷² The Hammurabi code is in part parallel to the O.T. laws:

¹⁵⁷ If a man, after his father's death, has lain in the bosom of his mother, they shall both of them be burnt together.

¹⁵⁸ If a man, after his father's death, be caught in the bosom of his step-mother, who has borne children, that man shall be cut off from his father's house.

Holiness Code

thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ⁸The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: it is thy father's nakedness. ⁹The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy mother,ⁱ whether born at home or away, her nakedness thou shalt not uncover.

¹⁰The nakedness of thy son's daughter or of thy daughter's daughter, their nakedness thou shalt not uncover, for their nakedness is thine own. ¹¹The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father, who is thy sister, her nakedness thou shalt not uncover. ¹²Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister; she is thy father's near kinswoman. ¹³Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister, for she is thy mother's near kinswoman. ¹⁴Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's brother, thou shalt not approach his wife, she is thine aunt. ¹⁵Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter-in-law;^j she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ¹⁶Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife; it is thy brother's nakedness. ¹⁷Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter; thou shalt not take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; they are thy near kinswomen; it is unchastity. ¹⁸And thou shalt not take a woman as your wife in addition to her sister, to be her rival, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her lifetime.

Lev. 20 ¹¹A man who lieth with his father's wife has uncovered his father's nakedness; both of them shall surely be put to death; they shall be responsible for their own death. ¹²And if a man lies with his daughter-in-law, both of them shall surely be put to death; they have done what is unnatural; they shall be responsible for their own death.

¹⁴And if a man taketh a wife and her mother, it is unchastity; they shall be burnt with fire, both he and they, that there may be no unchastity among you. ¹⁷And if a man shall take his sister, whether his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter,^k he hath uncovered his sister's nakedness; he shall bear the consequences of his iniquity. ²⁰And if a man shall lie with his uncle's wife, he hath uncovered his uncle's nakedness; they shall bear the consequences of their sin; they shall die childless. ²¹And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is impurity; he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.

§ 73. Sodomy, Lev. 18²², 20¹³

Holiness Code

Lev. 18 ²²Thou shalt not lie with a man, as with a woman; it is an abomination.

ⁱ Lev. 18⁹ Cf. § 3 noted.

^j Lev. 18¹⁵ The corresponding law of Hammurabi reads: § 155. *If a man has betrothed a maiden to his son and his son has known her, and afterward the man has lain in her bosom, and been caught, that man shall be strangled and she shall be cast into the water.*

^k Lev. 20¹⁷ The Heb. adds a supplemental note, providing for the punishment of both, and see her nakedness, and she see his nakedness, it is a disgrace; and they shall be cut off in the sight of the children of their people. Lev. 20¹⁹ And thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister, nor of thy father's sister, for he who does this has made naked his near kin; they shall bear the consequences of their iniquity is also an awkward gloss differing in style from the context.

§ 73 For the origin of the term sodomy, cf. Gen. 19⁴⁻⁵. In antiquity it was apparently a common crime.

*Holiness Code*Death
the
penalty

20 ¹³If a man lieth with a man, as with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination; they shall surely be put to death; they shall be responsible for their own death.

§ 74. **Bestiality**, Ex. 22¹⁹, Dt. 27²¹, Lev. 18^{23, 25}, 20^{15, 16}, 18¹⁹, 20¹⁸

Primitive Codes

Ex. 22 ¹⁹Whoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.

*Deuteronomic Codes*Death
the
penalty

Dt. 27 ²¹Cursed be he who lieth with any manner of beast. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

*Holiness Code*Later
prohi-
bitions

Lev. 18 ²³And thou shalt not lie with any beast to defile thyself with it, nor shall any woman stand before a beast, to lie down to it; it is unnatural. ²⁴Defile not yourselves in any of these ways for in all these ways the nations, which I am casting out before you, defiled themselves; ²⁵thus the land became defiled and I visited its guilt upon it and the land cast forth its inhabitants.

20 ¹⁵If a man lieth with a beast, he shall surely be put to death and ye shall slay the beast. ¹⁶And if a woman approach any beast to lie down with it, thou shalt kill the woman and the beast; they shall be put to death; their blood shall be upon them.

18 ¹⁹Thou shalt not approach a woman to uncover her nakedness as long as she is impure through her monthly uncleanness.

20 ¹⁸If a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness and shall uncover her nakedness, ¹both of them shall be cut off from among their people.

§ 75. **Prostitution**, Dt. 23^{17, 18}, Lev. 19²⁹, 21⁹

*Deuteronomic Codes*Prohi-
bition
of
temple
prosti-
tutes

Dt. 23 ¹⁷None of the Israelitish women or men shall become a temple prostitute.^m ¹⁸Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot or the wages of such a dog into the house of Jehovah thy God for any vow, for both these are an abomination to Jehovah thy God.ⁿ

*Holiness Code*Penalty
for a
priest's
daugh-
ter

Lev. 19 ²⁹Profane not thy daughter by making her a harlot, lest the land fall into harlotry, and the land become full of unchastity.

21 ⁹If the daughter of a priest profaneth herself by playing the harlot, she profaneth her father; she shall be burnt with fire.

¹ Lev. 20¹⁸ The Heb. adds what is probably a supplemental gloss, *he has laid bare her fountain and she has uncovered the fountain of her blood*.

^m Dt. 23¹⁷ The current rendering, *sodomite* is incorrect.

ⁿ Dt. 23^{17, 18} Heb., 23^{18, 19}.

§ 76. Indecent Assault, Dt. 25^{11, 12}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 25 ¹¹When men strive with one another, and the wife of the one draweth near to deliver her husband from the one who is attacking him, and putteth forth her hand, and taketh him by his private members, ¹²thou shalt cut off her hand; thou shalt show no pity. Penalty mutilation

§ 77. Interchange of the Dress of the Sexes, Dt. 22⁵

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 22 ⁵A woman shall not wear any article pertaining to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment, for whoever doeth these things is an abomination to Jehovah thy God. Prohibition in case of animals

§ 78. Unnatural Mixtures, Dt. 22⁹⁻¹¹, Lev. 19¹⁹

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 22 ⁹Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with two kinds of seed, lest the whole be forfeited^o to the sanctuary; the seed which thou hast sown, and the increase of the vineyard. ¹⁰Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together. ¹¹Thou shalt not wear stuff made of mixed wool and linen. Prohibition in case of seed

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ¹⁹Ye shall keep my statutes. Thou shalt not let thy cattle breed with a different kind. Thou shalt not sow thy field with two kinds of seed, and thou shalt not wear a garment of mixed goods. In case of animals

§ 79. Kidnapping, Ex. 21¹⁶, Dt. 24⁷

Primitive Codes

Ex. 21 ¹⁶He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he still be found in his hand, the thief shall surely be put to death. Death the penalty

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 24 ⁷If a man be found stealing any of his fellow Israelites, and he treat him as a slave or sell him, then that thief shall die; thus shalt thou purge away the evil from thy midst.

§ 76 This is the one case in which the Heb. law countenances the mutilation of the culprit. The aim is to prevent by the severity of the judgment all immodest acts of which the present case is a type.

^o Dt. 22⁹ Lit., *become sacred*.

§ 79 The Code of Hammurabi is equally severe in punishing this heinous crime: § 14. *If a man has stolen a child, he shall be put to death.* § 15. *If a man has induced either a male or female slave from the house of a patrician or plebeian to leave the city, he shall be put to death.*

§ 80. Covetousness, Dt. 5²¹ [Ex. 20¹⁷]*Deuteronomic Codes*

Prohibition

Dt. 5 ²¹Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, neither shalt thou desire thy neighbor's house, his field, or his male or female slave, his ox, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbor's.

§ 81. Lying, Lev. 19^{11b}*Holiness Code*

Prohibition

Lev. 19 ^{11b}Ye shall not lie to one another.

IV

CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON

§ 82. Dishonoring Parents, Ex. 21^{15, 17} [20¹², Dt. 5¹⁶, 21^{18, 21}, 27¹⁶, Lev. 19^{3a}, 20⁹]*Primitive Codes*

Penalty in extreme cases

Ex. 21 ¹⁵He that striketh his father or his mother shall be put to death. ¹⁷He that curseth his father or mother shall be put to death.

§ 83. Murder, Ex. 21^{12, 14, 20, 21}, Dt. 5¹⁷ [Ex. 20¹³], Dt. 19^{11, 13}, Lev. 24^{17, 21b}, Gen. 9^{5, 6}, Nu. 35^{14, 34}

Primitive Codes

Penalty according to intent

Ex. 21 ¹²If a man strike another so that he die, the manslayer shall be put to death. ¹³If a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand, then I will appoint thee a place to which he may flee. ¹⁴If a man attack

§ 80 The original injunction probably read, simply, *thou shalt not covet*; the different codes have variously expanded it, in defining its application. Ex. 20¹⁷ reads, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his male or female servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's*. Like the law of love in Lev. 19, it is one of the few enactments which define, as did Jesus, individual responsibility for the motives as well as the resulting acts.

§ 81 This law is in striking contrast to the oriental attitude toward telling the truth, which is expressed by the popular proverb, *A lie is the salt of a man*.

§ 82 For the additional laws under this head cf. § 1. The Deuteronomic codes provide that the parents must present to the elders of the city a formal charge against their son, and then that the community stone him to death. The Holiness Code simply reiterates the injunction of the primitive codes. For the corresponding regulations in the Code of Hammurabi, cf. note § 1. It also enacts that: § 195. *If a son has struck his father, his hands shall be cut off*.

§ 83 The Heb. laws aimed thoroughly to protect the innocent, as well as to punish the guilty. Each succeeding law sought more carefully to correct the abuses incidental to the pervading law of blood revenge and to guard only those who had committed unintentional murder. At the same time the responsibility for punishing a murderer is left not with the state but with the relatives of the slain. Cf. note § 53 for a discussion of the cities of refuge and Josh. 20^{7, 8} for the late, priestly list of these cities. The detailed law in Nu. 35¹⁴⁻³⁴ is introduced in a very late priestly section, which, contrary to the earlier priestly codes, Nu. 18^{20, 24}, assigns forty-eight cities to the Levites. The linguistic evidence also indicates that it is one of the latest additions to the O.T., cf. note § 160.

Primitive Codes

another maliciously to slay him by treachery, thou shalt take him from my altar, that he may be put to death.

²⁰If a man strike his male or female slave with a stick so that he die at once, the master must be punished. ²¹If, however, the slave survive a day or two, the master shall not be punished, for it is his own loss. In case of slaves

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 5 ¹⁷Thou shalt not kill.

19 ¹¹If any man hate his neighbor, and lie in wait for him, and attack him and strike him mortally so that he die, and the murderer flee into one of the cities of refuge, ¹²the elders of his city shall send and bring him and deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that he may die. ¹³Thou shalt have no mercy on him, but thou shalt purge away the innocent blood from Israel, that it may go well with thee. No altar-asylum for the guilty

Holiness Code

Lev. 24 ¹⁷He that smiteth any man mortally shall surely be put to death. ^{21b}He that killeth a man shall be put to death. Life for life

Priestly Codes

Gen. 9 ⁵Surely your own blood will I require; from every beast will I require it, and at the hand of every man, even at the hand of every man's brother, will I require the life of man. ⁶He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he man.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 35 ¹⁴Ye shall set apart three cities beyond the Jordan, and three cities shall ye set apart in the land of Canaan; they shall be cities of refuge. ¹⁵These six cities shall be for refuge for the Israelites and for the resident alien and the one who hath settled among them, that every one who hath killed another unintentionally may flee to them. Cities of refuge

¹⁶But if he smote him with an iron weapon, so that he died, he is a murderer; the murderer shall surely be put to death. ¹⁷If he smote him with a stone such as can be held in the hand, whereby a man may die, so that he died, he is a murderer; the murderer shall surely be put to death. ¹⁸Or if he smote him with a weapon of wood such as can be held^p in the hand, whereby a man may die, so that he died, he is a murderer; the murderer shall surely be put to death. ¹⁹The avenger of blood shall himself put the murderer to death; when he meeteth him, he shall put him to death. ²⁰If he pushed him through hatred, or hurled anything^a at him insidiously, so that he died, ²¹or in enmity smote him with his hand, so that he died, he who smote him shall surely be put to death; he is a murderer; the avenger of blood shall put the murderer to death, when he meeteth him. Laws to be applied in case of intentional murder

^p Nu. 35¹⁸ So Gk. and Sam.

^a Nu. 35²⁰ So Gk. Heb. omits, anything.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

In case
of ac-
cidental
homi-
cide

²²But if he pushed him inadvertently and not out of enmity, or hurled at him anything without lying in wait, ²³or cast at him, without seeing him, any stone whereby a man may die, so that he died, and he had not been his enemy nor sought his harm, ²⁴then the congregation shall judge between the smiter and the avenger of blood according to these ordinances. ²⁵Thus the congregation shall rescue the manslayer from the hand of the avenger of blood, and the congregation shall send him back to his city of refuge, whither he had fled, that he may dwell therein until the death of the high priest, who was anointed with the holy oil. ²⁶But if the manslayer shall at any time go beyond the border of his city of refuge, whither he fled, ²⁷and the avenger of blood find him without the border of his city of refuge, and the avenger of blood slay the manslayer, he shall not be guilty of blood, ²⁸because he should have remained in his city of refuge until the death of the high priest; but after the death of the high priest the manslayer may return to his own land.

Safe-
guards
of
justice
and
order

²⁹These shall serve as a statute and regulative ordinance for you throughout your generations in all your dwellings. ³⁰In every case of murder the murderer shall be put to death on the testimony of witnesses; on the testimony of but one witness, however, shall no one suffer death. ³¹Moreover ye shall take no ransom for the life of a murderer who is guilty of death, but he shall surely be put to death. ³²And ye shall take no ransom for him who hath fled to his city of refuge, that he may return to dwell in the land, until the death of the high priest. ³³So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye dwell, for blood especially polluteth the land, and no expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein but by the blood of him who shed it. ³⁴So ye shall not defile the land which ye inhabit, in the midst of which I dwell; for I, Jehovah, dwell in the midst of the Israelites.

§ 84. Assault, Ex. 21^{15, 18, 26, 27}, Dt. 27²⁴, Lev. 24¹⁹

Primitive Codes

Penalty
if vic-
tim is a
parent
For in-
jury in-
flicted
in a
fight

Ex. 21 ¹⁵He that striketh his father or his mother shall surely be put to death.

Injury
to a
slave

¹⁸If men contend and one strike the other with a stone or a club,^u and he do not die, but is confined to his bed, then, if he rise again, and can walk out supported on his staff, the one who struck him shall be acquitted; only he must pay for the loss of the other man's time until he is thoroughly healed.

²⁶If a man strike his male or female slave in the eye, so as to destroy it, he shall let him go free because of the loss of his eye. ²⁷If he knock out his

^r Nu. 35³² So Gk., Sam., and Syr. The Heb. omits, *high*.

^s Nu. 35³³ So Gk., Sam., and Syr. The Heb. has no verb.

^t Nu. 35³⁴ So Gk., Sam., and Syr. The Heb. has, *thou shalt*.

^u Ex. 21¹⁸ Or, *first*. So Gk.; but the Targs. interpret, *club*, and this is best supported by the context.

§ 84 For the corresponding detailed laws of Hammurabi cf. Appendix VI. In both the Heb. and Bab. systems the *lex talionis* is still in force, although the tendency to substitute a milder penalty is apparent, and always when the victim is a slave.

Primitive Codes

male or female servant's tooth, he shall let him go free because of the loss of his tooth.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 27 ²⁴Cursed be he that smiteth his neighbor in secret. And all the people shall say, So may it be. Public condemnation

Holiness Code

Lev. 24 ¹⁹If a man disfigureth his neighbor, as he hath done, so shall it be done to him. Penalty for mutilation

§ 85. Personal Injury, Ex. 21^{28, 32, 22, 25}

Primitive Codes

Ex. 21 ²⁸If an ox fatally gore a man or woman, the ox shall be stoned and its flesh shall not be eaten, but the owner of the ox shall be acquitted. Penalty if inflicted by an animal
²⁹But if the ox was already in the habit of goring, and it hath been reported to its owner and he hath not kept it in, with the result that it hath killed a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned and its owner also shall be put to death. ³⁰If a ransom is fixed for him, he shall give for the redemption of his life whatever amount is determined. ³¹Whether the ox hath gored a boy or a girl, this law shall be executed. ³²If the ox gore a male or female servant, thirty silver shekels shall be given to their master and the ox shall be stoned.

²²If men strive together and hurt a pregnant woman so that she hath a miscarriage and yet no harm to her result, he shall be fined, as the woman's husband shall determine,^w and he shall pay for the miscarriage. ²³But if any harm follow, then thou shalt give life for life, ²⁴eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, ²⁵branding for branding, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.^x If inflicted upon a pregnant woman

§ 86. Rape, Dt. 22^{25, 27}

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 22 ²⁵If a man find a young woman who is betrothed in the field and the man force her and lie with her, then simply the man who lay with her shall die, ²⁶but thou shalt do nothing to the young woman; the young woman hath committed no sin worthy of death, for this case is as when a man attacketh his neighbor and slayeth him, ²⁷for he found her in the field, the betrothed young woman cried out, but there was none to save her. Death penalty for the guilty man

§ 85 The laws of Hammurabi are very similar:

§ 251 If a man's ox be a gorer, and has revealed its evil propensity as a gorer, and he has not blunted its horn or shut up the ox, and then that ox has gored a free man and caused his death, the owner shall pay half a mina of silver. § 252. If it be a slave that has been killed, he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

^v Ex. 21³¹ Lit., according to this judgment (or ruling) shall it be done to him.

^w Ex. 21²² Slightly correcting the text as suggested by Budde. The present Heb. construction is very doubtful. It may possibly be translated, as the judges determine.

^x Ex. 21²²⁻²⁵ For the somewhat similar laws of Hammurabi, cf. Appendix VI, §§ 209-214.

§ 87. Seduction, Ex. 22^{16, 17}, Dt. 22^{28, 29}*Primitive Codes*

Penalty **Ex. 22** ¹⁶If a man entice a virgin, who is not betrothed and lie with her, he must make her his wife by paying a dowry for her. ¹⁷If her father refuse absolutely to give her to him, he shall pay money equivalent to the dowry of young girls.

Deuteronomic Codes

The later law **Dt. 22** ²⁸If a man find a virgin, who is not betrothed, and take hold of her, and lie with her, and they be caught in the act, ²⁹then the man who lay with her shall give to the girl's father fifty shekels of silver; moreover she shall be his wife, because he hath humbled her; he may not divorce her as long as he lives.

§ 88. Wronging the Defenceless, Ex. 22^{21, 24}, Dt. 24^{14a, 27}^{18, 19}, Lev. 19^{14, 33}*Primitive Codes*

Aliens, widow, and orphans **Ex. 22** ²¹Thou shalt not wrong nor oppress a resident alien, for ye were aliens residing in the land of Egypt.^y ²²Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. ²³If thou afflict them at all and they cry to me, I will surely hear their cry; ²⁴and my wrath shall be aroused, and I will slay you with the sword, so that your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless.

Deuteronomic Codes

Hired servants **Dt. 24** ^{14a}Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant who is poor and needy. ²⁷¹⁸Cursed be the one who maketh the blind wander out of the way. And all the people shall say, So may it be. ¹⁹Cursed be the one who perverteth the justice due the resident alien, fatherless, and widow. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

Blind

Public condemnation

Holiness Code

Deaf, blind, and aliens **Lev. 19** ¹⁴Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind; but thou shalt fear thy God: I am Jehovah. ³³And if an alien make his home with you^z in your land, ye shall do him no wrong.

§ 89. Slander, Ex. 23^{1a}, Lev. 19¹⁶*Primitive Codes*

Prohibition **Ex. 23** ^{1a}Thou shalt not spread abroad a false report.

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ¹⁶Thou shalt not go about as a tale bearer among thy people; nor shalt thou seek the blood of thy neighbor: I am Jehovah.

§ 88 Cf. note § 106.

^y Ex. 22²¹ This vs. is in part duplicated in 23⁹, *Thou shalt not oppress a resident alien, for ye know how a resident alien feeleth, since ye were aliens residing in the land of Egypt.*

^z Lev. 19³³ So Gk., Sam., and Syr. Heb., *thee*.

§ 89 The Heb. codes suggest no definite penalty for this pernicious crime. Hammurabi's Code, however, is grimly definite:

§ 127 *If a man has caused the finger to be pointed at a votary, or a man's wife, and has not justified himself, that man shall be brought before the judges, and have his forehead branded*

V

CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY

§ 90. Theft, Ex. 22¹⁻⁴ [20¹⁵], Dt. 5¹⁹, 23^{24, 25}, Lev. 19^{11a}, 6^{2,7}

Primitive Codes

Ex. 22 ¹If a man shall steal an ox or a sheep, and kill or sell it, he shall restore five oxen for one ox and four sheep for one sheep. ⁴If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep, he must pay twice its value. ^{3b}If he have nothing, then he shall be sold to pay for what he hath stolen. Penalties

²If the thief be found breaking in and be struck down so that he die, the one who striketh him is not guilty of murder. ^{3b}If the sun hath risen, the one who striketh him is guilty of murder; he must make restitution. In case thief is killed

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 5 ¹⁹Thou shalt not steal.

23 ²⁴When thou comest into thy neighbor's vineyard, thou mayest eat of grapes thy fill at thine own pleasure, but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel. ²⁵When thou comest into thy neighbor's standing grain, thou mayest gather the heads with thy hand,^a but thou shalt not put^b a sickle to thy neighbor's standing grain. Prohibition Limitation of right in natural products

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ^{11a}Thou shalt not steal.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 6 ²If any one sin and break faith with Jehovah, by deceiving his neighbor in regard to a deposit or a pledge, or by robbing or defrauding his neighbor,³ or if he hath found something which was lost and deny it and perjure himself, if by doing any one of these things ^{4a}a man hath sinned, and so is guilty, he shall restore that which he took by robbery, or the thing which he obtained by fraud, or the deposit which was entrusted to him, or the lost thing which he found, ⁵or anything about which he swore falsely; he shall restore it in full, and shall add to it a fifth more; he shall give it to its rightful owner on the day when he is found guilty. ⁶He shall also bring to the priest his guilt-offering for Jehovah, a ram without blemish out of the Reparation for things stolen or obtained fraudulently

Crimes against Property.—As has been noted in the Introd., p. 25, one of the fundamental differences between the O.T. and Bab. codes is that, while the Code of Hammurabi is prodigal of human life, the Heb. laws carefully guard it; but in regard to property the emphasis is reversed. For the detailed Bab. laws regarding crimes against property cf. Appendix VII.

The relatively slight attention given in the O.T. to the rights of property is one of the many lines of evidence proving that the interests and ambitions of the early Israelites lay rather in national and religious than in material realms.

^a Dt. 23²⁵ Cf. Mt. 12¹. Lk. 6¹ for the action of Jesus' disciples, which was in accord with this ancient law.

^b Dt. 23²⁵ Lit., *move*.

Priestly Codes

flock, according to thy valuation, as a guilt-offering. ⁷Then the priest shall make atonement for him before Jehovah, and he shall be forgiven for whatever he may have done to incur guilt.

§ 91. Land Stealing, Dt. 19¹⁴, 27¹⁷*Deuteronomic Codes*

Prohibition

Dt. 19 ¹⁴Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of former generations have set, in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit, in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee as a possession.

Public condemnation

27 ¹⁷Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

§ 92. False Weights and Measures, Dt. 25^{13, 16}, Lev. 19^{35, 37}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Prohibition of dishonesty in business

Dt. 25 ¹³Thou shalt not have in thy bag diverse weights,^c a great and a small. ¹⁴Thou shalt not have in thy house diverse measures,^d a great and a small. ¹⁵A perfect and just weight shalt thou have; a perfect and just measure shalt thou have, that thou mayest live long in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee. ¹⁶For all who do these things, even all who do unrighteously, are an abomination to Jehovah thy God.

Holiness Code

Honesty in all social and business relations

Lev. 19 ³⁵Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, or with rule, or with weight, or with measure. ³⁶Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin shall ye have: I am Jehovah your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt. ³⁷Ye shall therefore observe all my statutes and all my ordinances, and do them: I am Jehovah.

§ 91 Boundary stones among the Babylonians, as well as the Hebrews, marked the limits of estates, and to move them was the usual mode of stealing land. The references in the prophetic and wisdom books indicate that the crime was a common one in Israel, cf. Hos. 5¹⁰, Pr. 22²⁸, 23¹⁰, Job 24². The Babylonians, Greeks and Romans placed the boundary stones under the protection of the gods, and regarded them as sacred. The Roman law provided that those who attempted to move them might be slain (Dron. Hal. ii, 74).

The law of Dt. 27¹⁷ recalls the curses of the ancient Bab. kings upon those who removed their neighbor's landmarks, cf. John's, *Bab. and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, 191.

§ 92 These laws aim to counteract the common oriental custom of cheating in trade. When the weights used were ordinary stones, the temptation to steal was strong and its detection difficult.

^c Dt. 25¹³ Lit., *a stone and a stone*, i. e., stones of different size. Cf. Am. 8⁵ and Pr. 20²³.

^d Dt. 25¹⁴ Lit., *two different ephahs*. Cf. Am. 8⁵, Mi. 6¹⁰ and Ezek. 45¹⁰.

HUMANE LAWS

HUMANE LAWS

I

KINDNESS TOWARDS ANIMALS

§ 93. The Threshing Ox, Dt. 25⁴

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 25 ⁴Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when it treadeth out the grain. Profit sharing

§ 94. Wild Animals, Ex. 23¹¹, Lev. 25⁵⁻⁷

Primitive Codes

Ex. 23 ¹¹The seventh year thou shalt let the land rest and lie fallow, that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the wild beasts shall eat. In like manner thou shalt do with thy vineyard and thy olive-
Object of the sabbatical year

Humane Laws.—Although the majority of the laws included under this head have already been classified elsewhere, they are here grouped together as a basis for the comprehensive study of the most distinctive element in the O.T. codes. A comparison of the O.T. laws with the still earlier Code of Hammurabi or the contemporary Assyrian, Egyptian or Phœnician systems reveals far more points of analogy than difference. All assume very much the same characteristic oriental institutions, such as the kingly form of government, slavery, the secondary place of woman, and ceremonial worship, centring about certain sanctuaries cf. *Introd.*, p. 6. To these humane laws, however, the other legal systems of antiquity present few parallels. They represent the high-water mark of Heb. legislation. In them the teachings of the prophets, who preached not only justice but consideration for the needy and love to all men, find concrete expression. Like the prophets, who inspired them, they rise far above the sordid standards of their age and anticipate at many points the perfect teachings of the divine Prophet of Nazareth. Most of the O.T. laws have been superseded by others better adapted to the changed conditions of to-day, but these humane laws, in spirit, if not in actual form, have been incorporated in our modern systems or else remain lofty ideals towards which civilization is slowly but surely moving.

It is natural that the majority of them should be found in the Deuteronomic codes, which have been most directly touched by the spirit and lofty teachings of the prophets of the Assyrian period, cf. *Introd.*, p. 31. The hortatory form of many of them also reveals the powerful influence of the prophets. In most of these laws no distinct penalty is prescribed in case the given command is not obeyed. Often the appeal is simply to the individual conscience, and Jehovah is recognized as the only judge who can execute. Sometimes, when great self-denial is required to keep a given law, as for example, the remission of interest to the needy, the promise is added that God will give prosperity to those who obey. Elsewhere the people are warned lest they incur Jehovah's displeasure by disobedience. Frequently the appeal is to the national sense of gratitude because of the great deliverance from Egypt. Thus at almost every point they reveal the spirit of the inspired prophet in the heart of the lawgiver. Like the teachings of Jesus they emphasize not merely the external act but the motive in the soul of man. Above the brutal despotism and inhuman cruelty and selfish materialism of their age, they rise as beacon lights, guiding the human race on to the great social and philanthropic movements of to-day.

§ 93 This and the kindred laws of Dt. represent the earliest recognition and formulation of man's duty to the animal world over which he is called to rule. They voice that profound love for all of God's creatures which filled the heart of the Christ and which is the essence of true religion.

Holiness Code

Lev. 25 ⁵That which groweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy undressed vine thou shalt not gather; it shall be a year of complete rest for the land. ⁶The sabbath produce of the land shall be food for you; for thee, for thy male and female slave, for thy hired servant, and for the settler who resides with thee, ⁷and for thy cattle and the beasts that are in thy land shall all the produce be for food.

§ 95. Beasts of Burden, Ex. 23^{12a, b}*Primitive Codes*

Sabbath rest

Ex. 23 ^{12a, b}Six days shalt thou do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may have rest.

§ 96. The Mother and her Young, Ex. 34^{26b}, Dt. 22^{6, 7}, Lev. 22²⁸*Primitive Codes*

Consideration for the maternal relation

Ex. 34 ^{26b}Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 22 ⁶If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way, in any tree or on the ground, with young ones or eggs, and with the mother sitting upon the young or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the mother with the young; ⁷thou shalt surely let the mother go, but the young thou mayest take for thyself, that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long.

Holiness Code

Lev. 22 ²⁸[When an animal is offered to Jehovah], whether it be a cow or ewe, ye shall not kill both it and its young on the same day.

II

CONSIDERATION FOR THE UNFORTUNATE

§ 97. In Taking Pledges, Dt. 24^{10, 11}*Deuteronomic Codes*

To regard a poor man's feelings

Dt. 24 ¹⁰When thou lendest thy neighbor any kind of loan, thou shalt not go into his house to take a pledge from him. ¹¹Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge to thee.

§ 96 The exact principle underlying these three kindred laws is not clear. Possibly it is an ancient superstition, but apparently it is a sentimental reason. The same reward is urged for observing the injunction in Dt. 22^{6, 7}, as the command to children to honor parents, 5¹⁶. In all of these cases the sanctity of the parental relation is evidently prominent in the minds of the lawgivers.

Consideration for the Unfortunate.—Hammurabi in the epilogue to his code, cf. *Introd.*, p. 5, and in the evident purpose manifest in his laws to protect the widows and orphans, anticipates some of these regulations, but he nowhere reveals that delicate and chivalrous consideration for the feelings of the needy, which divines and guards against all acts which would inflict unnecessary pain on those whom the strong should protect.

§ 98. Return of Garments Taken in Pledge, Dt. 24^{12, 13}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 24 ¹²In the case of a poor man, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge; ^{To} ^{avoid}
¹³thou shalt surely restore to him the pledge at sunset, that he may sleep in thought-
 his garment and bless thee; thus thou wilt be counted righteous before less
 Jehovah thy God. cruelty

§ 99. Not to Take a Millstone in Pledge, Dt. 24⁶*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 24 ⁶No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone as a pledge, ^{Not to}
 for thereby he taketh a man's life as a pledge. ^{take a}
^{neces-}
^{sity}

§ 100. Moderation in Inflicting the Bastinado, Dt. 25^{2, 3}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 25 ²If a culprit deserves to be beaten, the judge shall make him lie ^{To}
 down to be beaten in his presence with the number of blows corresponding ^{guard}
 to his crime. ³Forty blows he may inflict upon him, but no more, lest, if ^{against}
 he add more blows than these, thy fellow countryman be held in contempt ^{unjust}
 in thine eyes. ^{cruelty}

§ 101. Exemption of Relatives of Criminals from Punishment, Dt. 24¹⁶*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 24 ¹⁶Fathers shall not be put to death with their children, and ^{To}
 children shall not be put to death with their fathers; each man shall be put ^{spare}
 to death simply for his own crime. ^{the}
^{inno-}
^{cent}

§ 102. Precautions against Accident, Dt. 22⁸*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 22 ⁸When thou buildest a new house, thou shalt make a parapet ^{To}
 for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thy house, in case any man ^{guard}
 should fall from it. ^{public}
^{safety}

§ 99 The millstone was needed each day in grinding the grain for the use of the family, especially where poverty made an abundant supply of food impossible.

§ 101 In the ancient East the family often shared a father's fate, even when they were entirely innocent, cf. Dan. 6²⁴, Esth. 9^{13, 14}, Herod. iii, 119. At least in the case of extreme offences, the same custom was in vogue in early Heb. history, cf. Josh. 7^{24, 25}, II Sam. 21¹⁻⁹. It was the outgrowth of the primitive Semitic conception of the family as a closely knit social unit. The juster principle of individual responsibility was recognized, however, by Amaziah in dealing with the conspirators who slew his father. II Kgs. 14⁶, and that precedent may well be the basis of the present law.

III

TREATMENT OF DEPENDENT CLASSES

§ 103. Hired Servants, Dt. 24^{14, 15}, Lev. 19^{13b}*Deuteronomic Codes*

To deal
kindly
and
justly
with
hired
servants

Dt. 24 ¹⁴Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant who is poor and needy, whether he be of thy own race, or of the resident aliens who are in thy land within thy city. ¹⁵On the same day thou shalt pay him his wages before the sun goeth down, for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it; and let him not cry against thee to Jehovah, and thou be guilty of a crime.

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ^{13b}The wages of a hired servant shall not remain with thee all night until the morning.

§ 104. Slaves, Ex. 23^{12a, c}, 21², Dt. 15^{12, 15}, Lev. 25^{39, 40a, 43}*Primitive Codes*

To give
rest
and
ulti-
mate
freedom
to
slaves

Ex. 23 ^{12a, c}Six days shalt thou do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest, that the son of thy handmaid and the resident alien may be refreshed.

21 ²If a man buy a Hebrew slave, he shall serve six years, but in the seventh year he shall go free without having to pay any ransom.

Deuteronomic Codes

To give
liber-
ally to a
freed
slave

Dt. 15 ¹²If one of thy own race, a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, be sold to thee, he shall serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free. ¹³And when thou lettest him go free, thou shalt not let him go empty-handed; ¹⁴rather thou shalt furnish him liberally from thy flock, and thy threshing-floor, and thy winepress; according as Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give to him. ¹⁵And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God redeemed thee; therefore I now command thee to do this thing.

Holiness Code

To be
con-
sider-
ate of
He-
brews

Lev. 25 ³⁹If thy fellow countryman become poor and sell himself to thee, thou shalt not make him serve as a slave. ^{40a}As a hired servant and as a settler shall he be to thee. ⁴³Thou shalt not rule over him with harshness, but thou shalt fear thy God.

§ 103 Cf. note § 12. The supreme justice and present day applicability of the principle underlying this law are obvious.

§ 104 Cf. note § 16 and the additional laws under the same sections; cf. also note § 13.

§ 105. Captives, Dt. 21^{10,14}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 21 ¹⁰When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and Jehovah thy God delivereth them into thy hands, and thou carriest them away captive, ¹¹and seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and thou hast a desire for her, and wouldst make her thy wife, ¹²then thou shalt bring her home to thy house, and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails, ¹³and she shall put off the garb of her captivity and shall remain in thy house, and bewail her father and her mother a full month. After that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife. ¹⁴But if thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go where she will; but thou shalt not in any case sell her for money, thou shalt not deal with her as a slave, because thou hast humbled her.

To regard the feelings and rights of a captive wife

§ 106. The Defenceless, Ex. 22²¹⁻²⁴, Dt. 24^{17, 18}, 27^{18, 19}, Lev. 19¹⁴*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 22 ²¹Thou shalt not wrong nor oppress a resident alien, for ye were aliens residing in the land of Egypt. ²²Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. ²³If thou afflict them at all, and they cry to me, I will surely hear their cry, ²⁴and my wrath shall be aroused, and I will slay you with the sword, so that your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless.

Not to wrong aliens, widows or orphans

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 24 ¹⁷Thou shalt not pervert the justice due the resident alien, or the fatherless, nor take a widow's garment as a pledge; ¹⁸but thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God redeemed thee from there; therefore I command thee to do this thing.

27 ¹⁸Cursed be the one who maketh the blind wander out of the way. And all the people shall say, So may it be. ¹⁹Cursed be the one who perverteth the justice due the resident alien, fatherless, and widow. And all the people shall say, So may it be.

Or the blind

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ¹⁴Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumblingblock before the blind; but thou shalt fear thy God: I am Jehovah.

Or deaf

§ 107. The Poor, Ex. 23⁶, Dt. 15⁷⁻¹¹, Lev. 25³⁵*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 23 ⁶Thou shalt not prevent justice being done to thy poor in his cause.

Not to wrong him

§ 105 Cf. also note § 4.

§ 106 Among most ancient peoples, resident aliens had no legal rights and were therefore the objects of every form of injustice. This evil the Heb. lawgivers strenuously sought to correct. Widows and orphans were unable to defend themselves from those who might wrong them, and had no strong protectors. Accordingly they also were especially guarded by benign provisions.

§ 107 The Israelitish race have always shown most remarkable and commendable loyalty to its poorer members. This significant fact in history is doubtless due largely to the influence of these laws.

Deuteronomic Codes

Not to refuse a loan to the poor

Dt. 15 ⁷If there be with thee a poor man, one of thy fellow countrymen, in any of thy cities in thy land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not be hardhearted, nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother; ⁸but thou shalt surely open thy hand to him, and shalt lend him sufficient for his need as he wanteth. ⁹Beware lest this base thought come in thy heart, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand, and thou turn a deaf ear to thy poor brother,^a and thou give him nothing; and he cry to Jehovah against thee, and thou be guilty of a crime.^b ¹⁰Thou shalt surely give to him, and thy heart shall not be sad when thou givest to him, because for this Jehovah thy God will bless thee in all thy work, and in all that thou undertakest to do. ¹¹For the poor will never cease to be in the land; therefore I command thee, Thou shalt surely open thy hand to thy brother, to thy needy, and to thy poor in thy land.

Holiness Code

To support the poor

Lev. 25 ³⁵If thy fellow countryman become poor and fall into poverty with thee, thou shalt support him, and he shall live with thee.

IV

PHILANTHROPIC PROVISIONS FOR THE NEEDY

§ 108. Leaving the Gleanings, Dt. 24^{19, 22}, Lev. 19^{9, 10} [23²²]

Deuteronomic Codes

To leave a part of all natural products for the needy

Dt. 24 ¹⁹When thou reapest thy harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a sheaf in thy field, thou shalt not go again to bring it; it shall be for the resident alien, for the fatherless, and for the widow, that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in all the work of thy hands. ²⁰When thou beatest thy olive-tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again; it shall be for the resident alien, for the fatherless, and for the widow. ²¹When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it after thee; it shall be for the resident alien, for the fatherless, and the widow. ²²Thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I command thee to do this thing.

^a Dt. 15⁹ Lit, *thy eye be evil against*.

^b Dt. 15⁹ Lit, *it be sin to thee*, cf. also 23²¹, 24¹⁵.

Philanthropic Provisions for the Needy.—It is from the social rather than the strictly legal point of view that these regulations are formulated. Some of them anticipate the principles assumed by modern socialism. They do not aim primarily to protect the rights of property or vested interests, but to define and facilitate the discharge of the obligations of society to its individual and needy members. They start with the assumption that those who have control of natural resources have certain duties to perform toward those less favored. They also seek by definite institutions to insure the more equable distribution of the products of the land.

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ⁹When ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not entirely reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. ¹⁰And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather the scattered fruit of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and for the resident alien: I am Jehovah your God.^c

§ 109. Sharing Offerings, Dt. 16^{11, 12} [13, 14], 26¹¹*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 16 ¹¹When thou keepest the feast of weeks, thou shalt be joyful before Jehovah thy God, together with thy son and daughter and male and female slave and the Levite, who is within thy city, and the resident alien, and the fatherless, and the widow, who are among thee, at the place in which Jehovah thy God shall choose to have his name dwell. ¹²And thou shalt remember that thou wast once a slave in Egypt, and observe these statutes.

To share the sacrificial meals with the needy

²⁶ ¹¹Thou shalt rejoice in all the good which Jehovah thy God hath given to thee and thy house, together with the Levite and the alien in the midst of thee.

§ 110. Distribution of the Tithe, Dt. 14^{28, 29}, 26^{12, 13}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 14 ²⁸At the end of every three years thou shalt bring out all the tithe of thine increase^d in that year and shalt deposit it within thy city. ²⁹That the Levite, because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the resident alien, and the fatherless, and the widow, who are in thy city, may come and eat and be satisfied, in order that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in all the work to which thou puttest thy hand.^e

To give triennial tithe to the needy and dependent

²⁶ ¹²When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithe of thy produce in the third year, which is the year of tithing, thou shalt give it to the Levite, to the resident alien, to the fatherless, and to the widow, that they may eat within thy city, and be filled. ¹³And thou shalt say before Jehovah thy God, I have put away^f the consecrated things out of my house, and have also given them to the Levite, and to the resident alien, to the fatherless and to the widow, just as thou hast commanded me; I have not transgressed any of thy commands, neither have I forgotten them.

^c Lev. 19¹⁰ Lev. 23²² is an exact repetition of 19^{9, 10b}. It has no connection with its context and its presence is probably due to a later editor or to a scribal error.

§ 109 The rejoicing at the chosen sanctuary in Jerusalem on the occasion of the harvest festivals included the slaughter of sacrificial animals and a general merrymaking, cf. note § 140. The aim of the law is to provide that all the dependent members of the community may have a part in these festivities, even as the people had had before the days of Josiah's reformation, at the ceremonies in connection with the local shrines. Dt. 16^{13, 14} repeats the same injunctions in connection with the feast of tabernacles, cf. § 214.

^d Dt. 14²⁸ *f. e.*, from thy private granaries.

^e Dt. 14²⁹ *Lit.*, work of thy hand which thou doest.

^f Dt. 26¹³ *Lit.*, I have exterminated.

§ 110 Two out of every three years the tithe of all that the ground produced was carried to Jerusalem and eaten by the offerer and his dependents, cf. § 151; but on the third year it was stored up in the different towns to be given to the dependent members of the community as their individual needs required.

§ 111. Remission of Interest to the Poor, Ex. 22²⁵, Dt. 23^{19, 20}, Lev. 25^{35, 38}

Primitive Codes

To take no interest from the poor **Ex. 22** ²⁵If thou lend money to any of my people with thee who is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor, neither shall ye demand interest of him.

Deuteronomic Codes

To take no interest from a Hebrew **Dt. 23** ¹⁹Thou shalt not lend on interest to thy fellow countryman: interest on money, food or on anything that is lent on interest. ²⁰To a foreigner thou mayest lend on interest; but to thy fellow countryman thou shalt not lend on interest, that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in all that thou undertakest to do, in the land to which thou art going to possess it.

Holiness Code

From a poor Hebrew **Lev. 25** ³⁵If thy fellow countryman become poor, and fall into poverty with thee, thou shalt support him, and he shall live with thee. ³⁶Take of him no interest or usury, but fear thy God, that thy fellow countryman may live with thee. ³⁷Thou shalt not give him thy money on interest, nor give him thy food for usury. ³⁸I am Jehovah your God, who brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to give you the land of Canaan, and to be your God.

§ 112. Rest and Remission of All Interest on the Seventh Year, Ex. 23^{10, 11}, Dt. 15¹⁻¹⁰, Lev. 25^{1-7, 20, 22}

Primitive Codes

To share natural products with the poor **Ex. 23** ¹⁰Six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in its increase. ¹¹The seventh year thou shalt let the land rest and lie fallow, that

§ 111 The spirit, if not the literal form of these laws are still universally applicable. Their background is an exceedingly simple organization. Until the Babylonian exile forced the Israelites into the great currents of the world's trade, they remained simple farmers and shepherds, who despised the Canaanitish traders in their midst. Loans, therefore, were not made for commercial purposes but under the pressure of dire necessity. To exact interest from a poor man was to force him or his family into slavery. This inevitable result Nehemiah bitterly condemns, although he and his friends had been accustomed to make loans on interest, Neh. 5.

Also in the ancient East the rate of interest was usually exorbitant. In Babylonia it was at one time limited to 20 per cent. In Assyria 25 per cent per annum was not uncommon; in Egypt the legal rate was limited to 30 per cent, or 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ in case the loan was in grain. Like Nehemiah, the exiles and the later Jews, who engaged in commerce, did not hesitate to demand interest. Evidently the aim of these laws, as is definitely stated in the earliest and latest versions, was simply to protect the poor Israelites from unjust exactions, for to withhold a loan entirely would be more harmful than to demand a moderate rate of interest.

§ 112 Cf. also note § 16, and for the laws regarding the liberation of slaves on the seventh year, § 104. It is significant that this law is found in the primitive as well as the Holiness Code. It implies the agricultural stage and, therefore, cannot be dated earlier than the settlement in Canaan. It represents the application of the sabbath principle of one period of rest in every seven to the cycle of the years. It is also made applicable to the land as well as to men and animals. The author of the Holiness Code, in Lev. 26^{34, 35}, regards the exile as the enforced period of rest for the land. This statement confirms the inference from Jer. 34 that the law of the sabbatical year, both in its command to let the land lie fallow and to liberate all Heb. slaves at the end of six years, was, at least before the exile, largely disregarded. Second Chr. 36²¹ bears similar testimony. Until the days of Nehemiah the Judean community continued to treat it as an ideal too high to be realized, until, in the covenant solemnly established in behalf of the people, they promised that *on the seventh year they would leave the land uncultivated and refrain from the exaction of any debt*. Josephus avers that it was kept in the days of Alexander the Great, *Antiq.* XI, 8⁶. I Mac. 6⁴⁹, ⁵³ suggests that in the Greek period it had become a regular institution. Even Tacitus was acquainted with the law, *Hist.* 5⁴, and the Mishna *Shebe'eth* states that only in Palestine was it fully observed.

Primitive Codes

the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the wild beasts shall eat. In like manner thou shalt do with thy vineyard and thine oliveyard.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 15 ¹At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release.^g ²And this is the nature of the release: every creditor shall remit that which he hath lent to his neighbor; he shall not exact it of his neighbor or fellow countryman, because Jehovah's release hath been proclaimed. ³Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it; but whatever of thine is with thy fellow countryman let thy hand release. ⁴Nevertheless there shall be no poor with thee, for Jehovah will surely bless thee in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee to possess as an inheritance, ⁵if only thou diligently hearken to the voice of Jehovah thy God, to observe to do all this commands which I command thee this day. ⁶For Jehovah thy God will bless thee, as he promised thee; and thou shalt lend to many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt rule over many nations, but they shall not rule over thee.

⁷If there be with thee a poor man, one of thy fellow countrymen, in any of thy cities in thy land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not be hardhearted, nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother; ⁸but thou shalt surely open thy hand to him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need as he wanteth. ⁹Beware lest this base thought come in thy heart, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand, and thou turn a deaf ear to thy poor brother, and thou give him nothing, and he cry to Jehovah against thee, and thou be guilty of a crime. ¹⁰Thou shalt surely give to him, and thy heart shall not be sad when thou givest to him; because for this Jehovah thy God will bless thee in all thy work, and in all that thou undertakest to do.

Holiness Code

Lev. 25 ¹Jehovah said to Moses on Mount Sinai, ²Speak to the Israelites and say to them, 'When ye have come to the land which I give you, the land shall rest for a sabbath to Jehovah. ³Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in its produce; ⁴but the seventh year shall be a sabbath of complete rest for the land, a sabbath to Jehovah; thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard. ⁵That which groweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy undressed vine thou shalt not gather; it shall be a year of complete rest for the land. ⁶And the sabbath produce of the land shall be food for thee; for thee, for thy male and female slave, for thy hired servant, and for the settler who resideth with thee, ⁷and for thy cattle and the beasts that are in thy land shall all the produce be for food. ²⁰And if ye say, What shall we eat in the seventh year? behold, we may not sow or gather in our produce; ²¹then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth produce for three years. ²²And ye shall sow the eighth year, but eat of the old stores; until the produce of the ninth year comes in, ye shall eat of the old stores.'

■ Dt. 15¹ The word comes from a Heb. verb meaning, to fling down, let drop.

§ 113. Restoration of Property and Freedom in the Year of Jubilee,

Lev. 25^{8,10, 23, 40^b, 42}*Priestly Codes*

To pro-
claim
rest
and re-
lease in
the
fiftieth
year

Lev. 25 ⁸Thou shalt count seven sabbaths of years, for seven times seven years; and there shall be the equivalent of seven sabbaths of years,^h that is, forty-nine years. ⁹Then thou shalt sound a loud horn on the tenth day of the seventh month; on the day of atonement shall ye sound a horn throughⁱ all your land. ¹⁰And ye shall set apart as sacred the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land to all its inhabitants; it shall be a year of jubilee for you, and ye shall return each to his possession, and ye shall return each to his family. ¹¹A jubilee shall that fiftieth year be for you; ye shall not sow or reap that which growth of itself in it, nor gather in the fruit of the undressed vines, ¹²for it is a jubilee; it shall be holy to you; ye shall eat its produce directly from the field.

To re-
store
all
heredi-
tary
prop-
erty

¹³At this year of jubilee ye shall return each to his possession. ¹⁴And if thou sell any land to thy neighbor, or buy it of thy neighbor, ye shall not wrong each other. ¹⁵According to the number of the years after the jubilee thou shalt buy land from thy neighbor, and according to the number of the crops *until the next jubilee* shall he sell it to thee. ¹⁶If the number of years be great, thou shalt increase its price, but if the number of years be small, thou shalt reduce its price, for it is the number of the crops that he selleth to thee. ²³The land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine, and ye are resident aliens and settlers with me.

To re-
lease all
He-
brew
slaves

^{40^b}If thy fellow countryman sell himself to thee as a slave, he shall serve with thee to the year of jubilee; ⁴¹then he shall be released by thee, together with his children, and he shall return to his own family, and to the possession of his fathers shall he return. ⁴²For they are my servants, whom I brought from the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as slaves.

^h Lev. 25⁸ Lit., *days*.ⁱ Lev. 25⁹ Lit., *cause to pass through*.

§ 113 The twenty-fifth chapter of Lev. presents many different problems. To the law in regard to the sabbatical year, 1-7, 17-22, and the injunctions not to take interest from a poor Israelite or to treat him harshly, if he has fallen into a condition of slavery, 35-40^a, 43, 47, 53, 55^b, the laws regarding the year of jubilee have been so added that they frequently interrupt the context. The first group of laws, 1-7, 10-22, appears to belong to the Holiness Code. It is doubtful whether or not this code originally contained any reference to the year of jubilee. The pre-exilic writers are without exception silent even where, as for example, in Is. 5 and Mi. 2, we would expect a reference to it, were they acquainted with it. Moreover two of the chief regulations regarding the year of jubilee: the rest of the land and the freeing of Heb. slaves, are antithetic to the earlier law which prescribed the seventh instead of the fiftieth year. The passage, therefore, relating to the year of jubilee would seem to be a later priestly addition, which aimed by generous concessions, so to soften the strenuous demands of the older law that the principle might gain popular acceptance. There is no evidence, however, that the attempt succeeded; in fact the Rabbis admit that this law was never observed.

The regulations regarding the right of redeeming hereditary estates is clearly based on an ancient and long established custom, cf. note § 28; but in the present form it is adapted to the law of the year of jubilee and is bound up with the decree that all hereditary lands must at that time revert to their original owners. This custom is not without precedent in the ancient world. Many Aryan peoples thus periodically redistributed their land among the heads of the families. Strabo states that the Dalmatians reassigned their lands every eight years. In certain village communities in Russia the custom has continued to the present. For additional illustrations cf. Maine, *Village Communities*, p. 81 f., Driver and White, *Leviticus*, p. 100. The earliest allusion, however, in the O.T. to any such institution, is found in Ezek. 46¹⁷, where land given by the prince is to revert to him *in the year of release*. Whether the prophet refers to an already established institution or possibly here gives a suggestion which

V

KINDLY ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHERS

§ 114. Reverence for the Aged, Lev. 19^{32a}
Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ^{32a}Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the person of an old man.

To
honor
the
aged

§ 115. Love for Neighbors, Ex. 23^{4, 5}, Lev. 19^{17, 18}
Primitive Codes

Ex. 23 ⁴If thou meet thine enemy's ox or ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. ⁵If thou see the ass of him who hateth thee lying prostrate under its burden, thou shalt in no case leave it in its plight, rather thou shalt, together with him, help it out.^j

To do
to an
enemy
as ye
would
have
him do
to you

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ¹⁷Thou shalt not hate thy fellow countryman in thy heart; thou shalt warn thy neighbor and not incur sin on his account.^k ¹⁸Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear a grudge against the members of thy race; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself: I am Jehovah.

To love
thy
neighbor
as
thyself

§ 116. Love for Resident Aliens, Dt. 10^{18b, 19}
Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 10 ^{18b}Jehovah so loveth the resident alien that he giveth to him food and raiment. ¹⁹Love then the resident alien; for ye were once resident aliens in the land of Egypt.

To love
the
alien

was later developed into the law of the year of jubilee cannot be definitely determined. On the whole, the exile, with its changed conditions, inspiring new regulations and experiments, as Ezek.'s elaborate program testifies, appears to furnish the background and date of the law of the year of jubilee.

Kindly Attitude toward Others.—In these laws, which relate to inner motives and feelings, the Heb. lawgivers almost attain to the N.T. ideal. In the brief command in Lev. 19^{18b} Jesus found the epitome of all O.T. legislation regarding man's duty to his fellowmen. He, however, raised it above its narrower Israelitish setting and made it of universal application. A suggestion of that broader application is found in the noble command in Dt. 10¹⁹ to love the foreigners residing in the land of Israel.

^j Ex. 23⁵ Slightly correcting the Heb. text.

^k Lev. 19¹⁷ *I. e.*, by failing to warn him and by cherishing hatred toward him.

**LAWS DEFINING OBLIGATIONS TO
JEHOVAH**

LAWS DEFINING OBLIGATIONS TO JEHOVAH

I

NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS

§ 117. To Abstain from Apostasy and Idolatry, Ex. 34^{14, 17} [20^{1.5, 23b}],
Dt. 5^{7, 8} [9, 10, 6^{14, 15}, 27¹⁵], Lev. 26¹

Primitive Codes

Ex. 34 ¹⁴Thou shalt worship no other god, for Jehovah, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God. Loyal
wor-
ship

¹⁷Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 5 ⁷Thou shalt have no other gods besides me.

⁸Thou shalt not make for thyself a graven image.

Holiness Code

Lev. 26 ¹Ye shall make no idols, nor shall ye erect for yourselves a graven image or a pillar, nor shall ye set up any figured stone in your land to bow down to it; for I am Jehovah your God. No
idols
of any
kind

§ 118. To Abstain from Heathen Rites, Ex. 22¹⁹, Dt. 12^{29.31}, 14^{1, 2} [18²],
Lev. 18³, 19^{27, 28} [20²³]

Primitive Codes

Ex. 22 ¹⁹Whoever sacrificeth to any god, except to Jehovah shall be placed under the ban. None of
the pre-
vailing
heathen
cus-
toms

Laws Defining Obligations to Jehovah.—In this group of laws the prophetic principles, that underlie and characterize the O.T. legislation, come most prominently to the front. Many of them belong more properly with the prophetic addresses than with Israel's laws, cf. Vol. III, where the great prophetic addresses attributed to Moses are introduced in their chronological setting. These commands like the humane laws, illustrate the true genius of Israel's legal system. Above all duties they placed the obligations of the nation and individual to the Divine King. In each code, but especially in the Deuteronomic codes, which reflect most fully the influence of the prophets, these primary commands are constantly reiterated.

Failure to keep them is in a few cases, as for example, apostasy, which was regarded as treason, punished by definite and extreme penalties; but ordinarily the appeal is simply to the conscience of the nation and the individual. These laws are most of them in fact exhortations rather than ordinances to be enforced by human courts of justice. Jehovah is himself alone the plaintiff, judge and executioner.

§ 117 Only the typical regulations are here introduced. Cf. for the additional laws, §§ 57-59.

§ 118 Cf. notes §§ 60, 61, and the same sections for the laws which are not repeated here.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 12 ²⁹When Jehovah thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, which thou art going in to dispossess, and thou hast dispossessed them, and dwellest in their land; ³⁰take heed to thyself that thou be not ensnared after them, when they have been destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How do these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise. ³¹Thou shalt not do thus to Jehovah thy God; for every abomination which Jehovah hateth, have they done to their gods; for even their sons and their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods.

14 ¹Ye are the children of Jehovah your God; ye shall not cut yourselves,^a nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead. ²For thou art a people holy to Jehovah thy God, and Jehovah hath chosen thee to be a people for his own possession, out of all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.

Holiness Code

Lev. 18 ³Ye shall not imitate the customs of the land of Egypt, in which ye dwelt, nor the customs of the land of Canaan, whither I am bringing you; neither shall ye follow their established usages.

19 ²⁷Ye shall not round off the corners of your hair, nor shalt thou disfigure the corners of thy beard. ²⁸Ye shall not make any incisions in your skin for the dead; nor shall ye tattoo any marks upon you:^b I am Jehovah.

§ 119. To Abolish Heathen Shrines, Ex. 34^{12, 13, 23^{24, 25a}}, Dt. 12^{2, 3, 7^{5, 25}}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Ex. 34 ¹²Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land to which thou art going, lest it be for a source of corruption^c in thy midst: ¹³but ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and cut down their asherahs.

23 ²⁴Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor imitate their customs; but thou shalt tear them down completely, and break in pieces their pillars, ^{25a}and serve Jehovah thy God.

Dt. 12 ²Ye shall destroy all the places in which the nations, which ye shall dispossess, served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills and under every green tree; ³and ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and burn their asherahs with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods; and ye shall destroy their names out of that place.

7 ⁵But thus shall ye do to them: ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and hew down their asherahs, and burn their

^a Dt. 14¹ This custom was in vogue among the Hebs. even in the exile, cf. Jer. 16⁶, 41⁵.

^b Lev. 19²⁸ All these marks doubtless indicated consecration to a special deity.

^c Ex. 34¹² Lit., *be for a snare*.

§ 119. The commands in Ex. 34^{12, 13} and 23^{24, 25a} interrupt their context and reveal the characteristic words and phrases of the Deuteronomic editor, who probably gave them their present position.

Deuteronomic Codes

graven images with fire. ²⁵The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire; thou shalt not covet the silver or the gold that is on them, nor take it for thyself, lest thou be corrupted thereby, for it is an abomination to Jehovah thy God.

§ 120. To Preserve the Law, Dt. 4²*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 4 ²Ye shall not add to the words which I command you, neither shall ye take anything from it, that ye may keep the commands of Jehovah your God which I command you.

§ 121. To Study and Remember the Law, Dt. 6^{4, 7}, 11^{18a} [10]*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 6 ⁶These words which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart; ⁷and thou shalt impress them upon thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

11 ¹⁸Therefore ye shall lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul.

Constant inculcation of the principles of the law

§ 122. To Wear Constant Reminders of the Law, Dt. 6^{8, 9}, 22¹² [11^{18b, 20}], Nu. 15^{37, 41}*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 6 ⁸Thou shalt bind the [words of Jehovah] as a reminder on thy hand, and have them as bands on thy forehead between thine eyes, ⁹and thou shalt write them on the posts of thy house and on thy doors.

22 ¹²Thou shalt make for thyself tassels^d on the four corners of the covering^e with which thou coverest thyself.^f

Ever-present reminders of the law

Holiness Code

Nu. 15 ³⁷Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ³⁸Speak to the Israelites, and bid them make for themselves tassels on the borders of their garments^g throughout their generations, and that they put upon the tassel of each cor-

§ 121 Cf. also § 56. Dt. 11¹⁹ is a duplicate of 6⁷.

§ 122 Cf. also § 56. Dt. 11^{18b} is a duplicate of 6⁸ and 11²⁰ of 6⁹.

^d Dt. ²²12 Lit., *twisted cords*, as in I Kgs. 7¹⁷. In later times these were made of eight threads of white wool and were tied at regular intervals in four double knots.

^e Dt. ²²12 I. e., the outer shawl or mantle, the modern *abayeh*, to the four corners of which the tassels were fastened.

^f Dt. ²²12 The meaning of these symbols is explained in the following passage from Nu. 13³⁹.

^g Nu. 15^{38b} The brief section here introduced appears from its language and spirit to have been taken from the Holiness Code. It is also closely parallel to Ezek. 6⁹. It probably reflects an old custom, which appears to be assumed as well as known in Dt. ²²12. The Asiatics pictured on the early Egyptian monuments wear tassels, so that the custom may have been introduced by the ancestors of the Hebs.

Holiness Code

ner a cord of blue;^h ³⁹and it shall serve you as a tassel, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commands of Jehovah, and do them, and that ye do not follow your own inclinations and desiresⁱ in accordance with which ye used to play the harlot;^j ⁴⁰that ye may remember and do all my commands, and be consecrated^k to your God. ⁴¹I am Jehovah your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am Jehovah your God.

§ 123. To Follow Its Commands, Dt. 5^{1, 32, 33}, 6^{1-3, 16, 17}, 7^{11, 12}, 8^{1, 5-14}, 10^{12, 13, 111, 8, 9, 26-32}, 26¹⁶, 17, 27^{10, 28}, 4^{5, 6}, 30^{15, 16}, Lev. 18^{4, 5, 26}, 19^{10a, 27}, 20^{8, 22}, 25^{18, 19}

Deuteronomic Codes

The
duty of
heeding
Jehovah's
com-
mands

Dt. 5 ¹Moses summoned all Israel, and said to them, Hear, O Israel, the statutes and the ordinances which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and take heed to do them. ³²Ye shall take heed to do^l as Jehovah your God hath commanded you; ye shall not turn aside to the right or to the left. ³³Ye shall do all that Jehovah your God hath commanded you, that ye may live, and that it may be well with you, and that ye may live long in the land which ye shall possess.

6 ¹Now this is the command, the statutes, and the ordinances, which Jehovah your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land which ye go over to possess; ²that thou mightest fear Jehovah thy God, to keep all his statutes and his commands, which I command thee, together with thy son, and thy son's son, all the days of thy life; and that thou mayst live long. ³Hear therefore, O Israel, and take heed to do it, that it may be well with thee, and that ye may become exceedingly many, as Jehovah the God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in a land abounding in milk and honey.

Of
keeping
faith-
fully
each of
them

¹⁶Ye shall not test Jehovah your God as ye tested him at Massah.^m ¹⁷Ye shall diligently keep the commands of Jehovah your God, and his testimonies and his statutes, which he hath commanded thee.

7 ¹¹Thou shalt therefore keep the commands, and the statutes, and the ordinances, which I command thee this day, to do them. ¹²And if ye hearken to these ordinances, and keep and execute them, Jehovah thy God will keep with thee the covenant and the mercy which he promised by oath to thy fathers.

8 ¹All the command which I command thee this day shall ye take heed to do, that ye may live and become numerous, and go in and possess the land which Jehovah promised by oath to your fathers.

^h Nu. 15³⁸ *I. e.*, the threads with which the tassels were fastened to the mantle.

ⁱ Nu. 15³⁹ *Lit.*, heart and eyes.

^j Nu. 15³⁹ The Heb. text is exceedingly awkward. The reference is evidently to some form of apostasy.

^k Nu. 15⁴⁰ *Lit.*, holy.

§ 123 The multiplicity of these injunctions illustrates the emphasis put upon the law, and especially the written law, from the days of Josiah.

^l Dt. 5³² *Lit.*, to walk in the way. So also in ³³.

^m Dt. 6¹⁶ Cf. Ex. 17^{2, 7}.

Deuteronomic Codes

⁵Know, then, in thy heart, that as a man disciplineth his son, so Jehovah thy God disciplineth thee. ⁶And thou shalt keep the commands of Jehovah thy God, to walk in his ways, and to fear him. ⁷For Jehovah thy God is bringing thee into a good land, a land of watercourses, of fountains and springs, flowing forth in vales and hills; ⁸a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates; a land of olive trees and honey; ⁹a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarcity, in which thou shalt lack nothing; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayst dig copper. ¹⁰And thou shalt eat and be full, and thou shalt bless Jehovah thy God for the good land which he hath given thee. ¹¹Beware lest thou forget Jehovah thy God, in not keeping his commands, and his ordinances, and his statutes, which I command thee this day: ¹²lest, when thou hast eaten and art satisfied, and hast built beautiful houses, and art dwelling in them; ¹³and when thy herds and thy flocks become numerous, and thy silver and thy gold is plentiful, and all that thou hast is multiplied, ¹⁴then thy heart be filled with pride,ⁿ and thou forget Jehovah thy God, who brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

Duty
ever to
remember
them

¹⁰ ¹²And now, Israel, what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee, but to fear Jehovah thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, ¹³and keep the commands of Jehovah, and his statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good?

To
ex-
press
love by
obedi-
ence

¹¹ ¹Therefore thou shalt love Jehovah thy God, and keep his charge, and his statutes, and his ordinances, and his commands at all times.

⁸Therefore ye shall keep all the command which I command thee this day, that ye may be strong, and go in and possess the land, which ye are going over to possess; ⁹and that ye may live long in the land which Jehovah promised by oath to give to your fathers, and to their descendants, a land abounding in milk and honey.

²⁶See, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: ²⁷a blessing, if ye will hearken to the commands of Jehovah your God, which I command you this day; ²⁸and the curse, if ye shall not hearken to the commands of Jehovah your God, but turn aside out of the way which I command you this day, in order to go after other gods, which ye have not known. ²⁹And when Jehovah thy God shall bring thee into the land which thou art going to possess, thou shalt set the blessing upon Mount Gerizim and the curse upon Mount Ebal. ³²And ye shall give heed to all the statutes and the ordinances which I set before you this day.

²⁶ ¹⁶This day Jehovah thy God commanded thee to do these statutes and ordinances; thou shalt, therefore, keep and do them with all thy heart, and with all thy soul. ¹⁷Thou hast caused Jehovah to say this day that he will be thy God, and that thou wilt walk in his ways and keep his statutes, and his commands, and his ordinances, and hearken to his voice. ²⁷ ¹⁰Thou

Solemn
obliga-
tion to
obey

ⁿ Dt. 8¹⁴ Lit., *thy heart be lifted up*.

^o Dt. 11²⁹ Vss. ³⁰, ³¹ are here omitted, since they add only a local geographical coloring.

Deuteronomic Codes

shalt therefore obey the voice of Jehovah thy God, and do his commands, and his statutes, which I command thee this day.

²⁶Cursed be he that confirmeth not the words of this law to do them.

Re-
ward of
obedi-
ence

⁴Behold, I have taught you statutes and ordinances, even as Jehovah my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the midst of the land which ye are going in to possess. ⁶Keep, therefore, and do them; for this is your wisdom and your understanding^p in the sight of the peoples that shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.

³⁰¹⁵See, I have set before thee this day life and prosperity, and death and calamity; ¹⁶in that I command thee this day to love Jehovah thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commands and his statutes and his ordinances, that thou mayst live and become numerous, and that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in the land which thou art going in to possess.

Holiness Code

Reit-
erated
injunc-
tions
to keep
the
divine
com-
mands

Lev. 18 ⁴Mine ordinances shall ye execute, and my statutes shall ye keep, to follow them: I am Jehovah your God. ⁵Ye shall therefore keep my statutes, and mine ordinances; which if a man do he shall live by them: I am Jehovah.

²⁶Keep my statutes and mine ordinances and let neither the native born nor the alien residing among you do any of these abominable things.

¹⁹^{19a}Ye shall keep my statutes.

²⁷Ye shall observe all my statutes, and all mine ordinances, and do them: I am Jehovah.

²⁰⁸Ye shall keep my statutes, and do them: I am Jehovah who sanctifieth you.

²²Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes, and all mine ordinances, and do them, that the land, whither I bring you to dwell, may not cast you forth.

²⁵¹⁸Ye shall execute my statutes and keep my ordinances and do them; ¹⁹then ye shall dwell in the land securely, and the land shall yield its fruit and ye shall eat your fill and dwell in it securely.

§ 124. To Make No Heathen Alliances, Ex. 34^{12, 13} [15, 16], 23^{31b, 33}, Dt. 7¹⁻⁴

Deuteronomic Codes

No
truce
with
hea-
then
peo-
ples

Ex. 34 ¹²Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land to which thou art going, lest it be a source of corrup-

^p Dt. 4⁶ *I. e.*, evidence of your wisdom and insight.

§ 124 In the earlier days of Israel's history alliances with other nations were common and only a few of the more zealous prophets protested, even though alliances in the ancient Semitic world meant the recognition of the gods of the allied peoples. From the days of the exile the principles proclaimed by Elijah and the expostulations of Hos., Is. and Jer. were reinforced by the painful outcome of the alliance with Egypt, so that the doctrine of no alliances gained popular acceptance, at least among the Jews of the dispersion. Cf. also note § 44.

Deuteronomic Codes

tion in thy midst; ¹³but ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and cut down their asherahs.⁴

23 ^{31b}I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into thy power; and thou shalt drive them out before thee. ³²Thou shalt make no covenant with them nor with their gods. ³³They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me; for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a source of corruption to thee.

Dt. 7 ¹When Jehovah thy God shall bring thee into the land which thou art going to possess, and shall clear away many nations before thee, the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou, ²and when Jehovah thy God shall deliver them into thy hands and thou shalt smite them, then thou shalt completely destroy them without making any terms with them or showing any mercy to them. ³Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give to his son, nor shalt thou take his daughter as a wife for thy son. ⁴For he will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods; thus will the anger of Jehovah be aroused against you, and he will destroy thee quickly.

No inter-marriages with heathen peoples

§ 125. To Be a Holy Nation, Ex. 22^{31a}, 19^{6a}, Dt. 7⁶ [14², 21^c], 18¹³, 26¹⁸, 19, 28⁹, 10, Lev. 19², 20²⁶ [7]

Primitive Codes

Ex. 22 ^{31a}Ye shall be holy men to me.

Deuteronomic Codes

Ex. 19 ^{6a}Ye shall be to me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation.

Dt. 7 ⁶Thou art a people holy to Jehovah thy God; Jehovah thy God hath chosen thee out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth to be to him a peculiar people.^r

Israel's unique choice and mission

18 ¹³Thou shalt be perfect^s with Jehovah thy God.

26 ¹⁸And Jehovah hath caused thee to say this day that thou wilt be to him a peculiar people, as he hath promised thee, and that thou shouldst keep all his commands; ¹⁹and that he will set thee high above all nations

^a Ex. 34¹², 13 The language of a Deuteronomic editor is clearly apparent in this section. So also in 23^{31b-33}.

§ 125 The conception of Jehovah's holiness, and its corollary the holiness of his people is exceedingly prominent in the literature just before the exile, cf. *Introd.*, pp. 37, 38. In the Holiness Code it becomes the chief basis of ethics. Its origin is not entirely clear. Undoubtedly Is. gave a great emphasis to the doctrine, cf. Is. 6. The oldest expression of it in the legal literature is probably found in Ex. 22^{31a}, in connection with the ceremonial command not to eat any flesh that is torn by beasts in the field, although by some this vs. is regarded as a later addition because the law is cast in the plural rather than in the second person singular, as in the oldest decalogue. The striking passage, Ex. 19^{6a}, probably comes from a late prophetic editor, cf. Vol. I, note § 75.

^r Dt. 7⁶ Dt. 14², 21 are duplicates of this vs.

^s Dt. 18¹³ *I. e.*, without physical, but especially moral blemish

Deuteronomic Codes

which he hath made, as a praise, and a name, and an honor; and that thou mayst be a people holy to Jehovah thy God as he hath promised.

28 ⁹Jehovah will establish thee as a people holy to himself, as he hath sworn to thee, if thou wilt keep the commands of Jehovah thy God, and walk in his ways. ¹⁰And all the peoples of the earth shall see that thou dost bear the name⁶ of Jehovah; and they shall be afraid of thee.

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ²Ye shall be holy, for I Jehovah, your God, am holy.

20 ²⁶Ye shall be holy to me, for I, Jehovah, am holy and have separated you from the peoples that ye may be mine.

II

INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS

§ 126. **Reverence**, Dt. 5²⁹, 6²⁴, 8⁶ [4¹⁰, 6², 10¹³, 10^{12.20}, 13¹⁴, 14²³, 17¹⁹, 31^{12, 13}],
Lev. 19^{32b} [25^{17b}]

Deuteronomic Codes

To
walk
hum-
bly
before
God

Dt. 5 ²⁹Oh, that there were such a heart in them that they would fear me, and keep all my commands at all times, that it might be well with them, and with their children forever!

6 ²⁴Jehovah commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear Jehovah our God, for our good at all times, that he might preserve us alive, as to-day.

8 ⁶Thou shalt keep the commands of Jehovah thy God, to walk in his ways and to fear him.

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ^{32b}Thou shalt fear thy God: I am Jehovah.

§ 127. **Gratitude**, Dt. 6^{10.12}, 8¹⁰, 19

Deuteronomic Codes

To re-
mem-
ber the
source
of all
bless-
ings

Dt. 6 ¹⁰When Jehovah thy God shall bring thee into the land which he promised by oath to thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give thee, great and attractive cities, which thou hast not built, ¹¹and houses full of

⁶ Dt. 28¹⁰ Lit., *art called by*.

Individual Obligations.—In these commands the national and individual obligations are closely blended.

§ 126 The lawgivers, like the sages, declared that an attitude of genuine reverence and piety toward God was essential to all right thinking and doing. In nearly a score of passages confined to the Deuteronomic and Holiness codes, they emphasize the fundamental importance of the attitude, not of cringing terror, but of fear inspired by a true appreciation of the divine character—a fear which keeps its possessor from all acts of wilful disobedience and guides him in the way of intelligent, loyal service.

Deuteronomic Codes

all good things, which thou hast not filled, and cisterns hewed out, which thou hast not hewed out, vineyards and olive-trees, which thou hast not planted, and thou shalt eat and be full, ¹²then beware lest thou forget Jehovah, who brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

8 ¹⁰When thou shalt eat and be filled, then bless Jehovah thy God for the good land which he hath given thee. ¹⁹But if thou dost forget Jehovah thy God, and dost follow other gods and serve and worship them, I bear witness against you this day that ye shall surely perish.

§ 128. Loyalty, Ex. 34¹⁴, 23¹³, Dt. 5⁶*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 34 ¹⁴Thou shalt worship no other God; for Jehovah, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God.

To give
Jehovah
undivided
allegiance

Deuteronomic Codes

Ex. 23 ¹³Concerning all the things that I have said to you take heed; and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard from thy mouth.^a

Dt. 5 ⁶I am Jehovah thy God who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. ⁷Thou shalt have no other gods besides me.

§ 129. Obedience, Dt. 6^{18, 19}, 10¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 30⁸⁻¹⁰*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 6 ¹⁸Thou shalt do that which is right and good in the sight of Jehovah, that all may be well with thee, and that thou mayest go in and possess the good land which Jehovah promised by oath to thy fathers, ¹⁹to clear away all thine enemies from before thee, as Jehovah hath promised.

To give
him
whole-hearted
obedience

10 ¹⁴Behold to Jehovah thy God belongeth the heaven and the heaven of heavens,^b the earth with all that is therein. ¹⁵Nevertheless Jehovah set his love on thy fathers^c and he chose their descendants after them, even you out of all peoples, as at this time. ¹⁶Therefore open your heart^d to him and no longer be stiff-necked.

30 ⁸Thou shalt return and obey the voice of Jehovah, and do all his commands which I command thee this day. ⁹And Jehovah thy God will give thee in rich abundance^e all the work of thy hand, the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy ground, for good; for Jehovah will again rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers; ¹⁰if

To enjoy
the rich
fruits
of
obedi-
ence

^a Ex. 23¹³ The language and thought reveal the late prophetic origin of this passage.

^b Dt. 10¹⁴ *I. e., the highest heavens.* Cf. later reflections of this noble passage in 1 Kgs. 8²⁷, II Chr. 2⁶, Neh. 9⁶, Ps. 68³⁴, 148⁴.

^c Dt. 10¹⁵ *Lit., attached to thy fathers to love them.*

^d Dt. 10¹⁶ *Lit., circumcise the foreskin of your heart. i. e., remove the impediments which make it irresponsible to the divine commands, cf. Jer. 4⁴, Ezek. 44⁷.*

^e Dt. 30⁸ *Lit., will make thee have in excess.*

Deuteronomic Codes

thou shalt obey the voice of Jehovah thy God, to keep his commands and his statutes which are written in this book of the law; if thou turn to Jehovah with all thy heart, and with all thy soul.

§ 130. Love, Dt. 6⁴, 5, 10¹², 11¹, 13-15, 30¹⁶ [10, 20]

Deuteronomic Codes

To love God with all thy powers Dt. 6⁴ Hear, O Israel: Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.^f 5 Therefore thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.

10¹² And now Israel, what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee, but to fear Jehovah thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him and to serve Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul.

11¹ Therefore thou shalt love Jehovah thy God, and keep his charge, and his statutes, and his ordinances, and his commands, at all times.

13 If ye hearken diligently to my commands which I command you this day, to love Jehovah your God and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, 14 I will give the rain of your land in its season, the earlier rain and the later rain, that thou mayest gather in thy grain, thy new wine, and thine oil. 15 And I will give grass in thy field for thy cattle, and thou shalt eat and be filled.

30¹⁶ I command thee this day to love Jehovah thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commands and his statutes and his ordinances, that thou mayest live and become numerous, and that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in the land which thou art going in to possess.

§ 131. Service, Ex. 23²⁵, Dt. 6¹³, 10¹², 20 [11¹³⁻¹⁵]

Deuteronomic Codes

Also to serve him with all thy talents Ex. 23^{25a} Ye shall serve Jehovah your God.

Dt. 6¹³ Thou shalt fear Jehovah thy God, and him shalt thou serve, and shalt swear by his name.

10¹² And now Israel, what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee, but to fear Jehovah thy God, to walk in all his ways, to love and to serve Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul? 20 Thou shalt fear Jehovah thy God; him shalt thou serve; and to him shalt thou cleave, and by his name shalt thou swear.

§ 130 Love, pure and strong, commanding the intelligence and emotions and physical strength of the individual, is made the basis of all law and religion in the great prophetic codes of Dt., as well as in the teaching of the divine Prophet of Nazareth, Mk. 12²⁹. 30

^f Dt. 6⁴ I. e., is unique among all gods. Possibly it was also intended to proclaim that Jehovah was the one true God.

CEREMONIAL LAWS

CEREMONIAL LAWS

A

SACRED OBJECTS AND SHRINES

I

THE ARK AND TENT OF MEETING OR DWELLING

§ 132. The Ark, Nu. 10^{33a, c, e, 35, 36}, Dt. 10¹⁻⁵, 31²⁴⁻²⁶, Ex. 25¹⁰⁻²²

Primitive Codes

Nu. 10^{33a, c, e} As the Israelites journeyed, the ark of Jehovah went before them to seek out a halting place for them. ³⁵And whenever the ark started, Moses would say,

Arise, O Jehovah,
And let thine enemies be scattered;
And let those who hate thee flee before thee.

Symbol
of Je-
hovah's
pro-
tect-
ing
pres-
ence

Sacred Objects and Shrines.—The tendency to associate the gods with certain places and objects was universal in antiquity, and still holds its sway in certain parts of the Orient. Something concrete and objective was required to make the faith of the worshippers real and personal. Among the primitive Semites, as among all early peoples, the most common sacred objects were springs, trees and stones, for each aroused the wonderment and awe of primitive man, and suggested the special presence of a deity. The water gushing from the barren rock was a never-ending miracle, which also brought life and refreshment to thirsty man. The tree, springing likewise from the dark, seemingly lifeless earth, was regarded as a symbol of the life-giving power of the god. Hence sacred trees, or their symbols, the asherahs or poles, were found beside nearly every ancient Semitic shrine.

The dwellers in the wilderness or in rocky Palestine also saw in the great stones—solid, immovable, defying storm and change through the centuries—the abiding-place of the deity. Sometimes the basis of the belief appears to have been the unusual form or character of the stone. Meteoric stones, like the sacred one at Mecca, naturally attracted the attention of early man. On their face they bore the evidence of their unique origin. If they had been seen to fall, a blazing ball of fire from heaven, their divine character was at once established. If a special revelation was given beside some stone, as, for example, in the tradition of Jacob at Bethel, the stone forever afterward was regarded as sacred. In Phœnicia and ancient Canaan there were many such *bethels*, *houses of god*, stones in which the deity was thought to dwell. In many cases a sanctuary grew up about the sacred stone, as at Bethel and Mecca; thus many of the ancient temples appear to have come into existence.

§ 132 Sacred arks were in common use among the ancient Semitic peoples. Among the Babylonians they were made in the shape of ships, and were carried in the sacred processions. They were used for the transportation of the images of the gods on both land and water. The ship of the Babylonian god Nabu was also provided with a captain and crew. Often in later times these ships or arks were richly adorned and studded with precious stones.

It is only in one of the latest priestly sources, where the tendency to idealize is strong, that the Hebrew ark is represented as covered with gold. In the Deuteronomic code it is simply a box of acacia wood. Probably the true dimensions are represented by the later tradition; about four feet long by two and one-fourth in width and depth. In the oldest sources it is called the *ark of Jehovah* or the *ark of God*, and was evidently regarded as the abiding-place of the Deity. Whether or not this belief was originally due to the fact that it contained two sacred stones—possibly meteoric in character—can never be determined. It has also been urged that it once contained an image of the god worshipped by the ancestors of the Hebrews. A later, and yet comparatively early tradition asserts that it was the repository of

Primitive Codes

³⁶And when it rested he would say,

Return, O Jehovah,
To the ten thousands of thousands of Israel.

Deuteronomic Codes

Reposi-
tory
of the
two
tablets
of the
law

Dt. 10 ¹At that time Jehovah said to me, Hew thee two stone tablets like the first, and come up to me in the mountain, and make an ark of wood.^a ²And I will write on the tablets the words that were on the first tablets which thou didst brake, and thou shalt put them in the ark. ³So I made an ark of acacia wood and hewed two stone tablets like the first and went up into the mountain, having the two tablets in my hand. ⁴And he wrote upon the tablets, in the same writing as before, the ten words^b which Jehovah spoke to you in the mountain out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly. And Jehovah gave them to me. ⁵Then I turned and came down from the mountain, and put the tablets in the ark which I had made; and there they are as Jehovah commanded me.^c

Of the
written
law

Dt. 31 ²⁴When Moses had made a final end of writing the words of this law^d in a book, ²⁵he gave this command to the Levites, who bore the ark of the covenant of Jehovah: ²⁶Take this book of the law and put it beside the ark of the covenant of Jehovah your God, that it may be there as a witness against you.^e

Priestly Codes

Form
and
dimen-
sions of
the ark

Ex. 25 ¹⁰They shall make an ark of acacia wood: two cubits and a half shall be its length, and a cubit and a half its width, and a cubit and a half its height. ¹¹And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, both within and without, and thou shalt make on the top of it round about a projecting rim

the two tablets of the law. Accordingly in the Deuteronomic source it was called the *ark of the covenant of Jehovah* and in the priestly, *the ark of the testimony*. In the days of the settlement in Canaan, however, the ark figures in its original rôle as the abiding-place of the Deity and, therefore, in popular thought, as the invincible palladium which would bring victory to the Hebrews, I Sam. 4-6, cf. Vol. II, § 4. On the whole the earliest allusions to the ark favor the conclusion that it was an empty throne supported and guarded by cherubim. The base was a wooden chest, which could be easily transported. This implication is strongly supported both by the use of arks among other Semitic peoples and by the late priestly tradition in Ex. 25²². For further data, cf. Dibelius, *Die Lade Jahves*.

The history of the ark is only imperfectly recorded. There are no strong reasons for doubting the testimony of the early traditions, which trace its origin back to the period of the wilderness. Borne by the Hebrews in their advance to Canaan, it appears to represent in primitive thought the transfer of Jehovah from Sinai to Canaan, where he subsequently dwells with his people. After various experiences, it at last found a resting place in David's capital and became the central object of Solomon's temple. Possibly it was carried away by the Egyptian invader, Shishak, or survived until the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C., but more probably, in the damp climate of Palestine, it in time decayed and fell to pieces. The surprising fact is that the late priestly school revived and glorified the traditions of this symbol which came from the half-heathen past, and gave it a central place in their idealized history. Cf. for a possible explanation note § 134.

^a Dt. 10¹⁻³ These vss. are practically a repetition of the early Judean narrative of Ex. 34¹⁻⁴, except that the latter contain no reference to the ark. Probably the original primitive code contained brief directions for the making of the ark, for which a late editor substituted the priestly version.

^b Dt. 10¹⁴ This is a repetition of Ex. 34^{28b}.

^c Dt. 10¹⁻⁵ These vss. evidently belong to one of the later passages of Dt.

^d Dt. 34²⁴ *I. e.*, the original Deuteronomic law.

^e Dt. 31²⁴⁻²⁶ These vss. are a later variant of 31⁹⁻¹³.

Priestly Codes

of gold. ¹²And thou shalt cast for it four rings of gold and put them on its four feet, there shall be two rings on each side of it. ¹³And thou shalt make poles of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. ¹⁴And thou shalt put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, in order with these to carry the ark. ¹⁵The poles shall be left in the rings of the ark; they shall not be taken from it. ¹⁶And thou shalt put the law^f into the ark which I shall give. ¹⁷And thou shalt make a cover of^g pure gold: two and a half cubits long, and a cubit and a half wide. ¹⁸And thou shalt make two cherubim^h of gold—of beaten work shalt thou make them—at the two ends of the cover. ¹⁹And thou shalt fasten a cherub to each end; on the cover thou shalt fasten the cherubim at its two ends. ²⁰And the cherubim shall hold their wings spread out on high, so that they will overspread the cover with their wings, while they face each other; the faces of the cherubim shall be turned toward the cover.

²¹And thou shalt place the cover upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the law that I shall give thee. ²²And there I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from over the cover; from the place between the two cherubim which are upon the ark of the law I will make known to thee all the commands which I will give through thee to the Israelites.

Its use according to later tradition

§ 133. The Original Tent of Meeting, Ex. 33⁵⁻¹¹*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 33 ⁵Jehovah said to Moses, Say to the Israelites, 'Ye are a wilful people; if I go up into the midst of thee for one moment, I shall consume thee, therefore put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do to thee.' ⁶So the Israelites despoiled themselves of their ornaments from Mount Horeb onward, and with these Moses made a tent.

Origin of the tent

⁷Now Moses used to take the tent and pitch it outside the camp at some distance from the camp, and he called it the tent of meeting, And whenever anyone wished to consult Jehovah, he would go out to the tent of meeting,

Its use in the Wilderness

^f Ex. 25¹⁶ Lit., *testimony*, the late priestly collective term for the law.

^g Ex. 25¹⁷ The traditional translation is, *mercy-seat*, but the Heb. word comes from a root meaning to cover. The fact that this word usually has a symbolic and theological significance, is the basis of the current translation.

^h Ex. 23¹⁵ The cherubim, like the colossi which guarded the Assyrian and Babylonian palaces or the bulls overlaid with gold in the sanctuaries of Dan and Bethel in the days of Jeroboam I, were symbolic of strength, the wings of a bird, of swift flight, and the faces of men, of intelligence. All these elements belonged to the common Semitic symbolism of the age.

§ 133 As has already been shown in Vol. I, note § 79, the older prophetic and the late priestly narratives give two distinct pictures of the tent of meeting. According to the early Ephraimite prophetic account of Ex. 33⁵⁻¹¹, it is small and stands outside the camp at a distance, and is in charge of Moses' attendant Joshua; but according to the priestly tradition in Ex. 35-40 and Nu. 2 it is an exceedingly elaborate structure, stands in the midst of the camp, and may be entered only by the sons of Aaron. The allusions in the earlier version indicate that it was originally preceded by an account of its construction; but the late priestly editor of Ex. has left it out, because he was chiefly interested in the later detailed tradition of its form and structure, now found in Ex. 35-40.

That there was some simple portable tent for the ark, and that the sacred stones used in casting the lot were kept in connection with it seem exceedingly probable in the light of the testimony of the comparatively early traditions. To this tent the people would naturally resort to determine the divine will through Moses. These facts appear to be the basis of the familiar later tradition of the dwelling or tabernacle.

Primitive Codes

which was outside the camp. ⁸And whenever Moses went out to the tent, all the people would rise and stand, every man at his tent door, and look after Moses until he had gone into the tent. ⁹And when Moses had entered into the tent, the pillar of cloud would descend and stand at the door of the tent, while Jehovah spoke with Moses. ¹⁰And whenever the people saw the pillar of cloud standing at the door of the tent, every man stood up and worshipped, each at his tent door. ¹¹Thus Jehovah used to speak with Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend. Then he would return to the camp; but his attendant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, did not leave the tent.

§ 134. The Post-Exilic Conception of the Tent of Meeting or Dwelling,

Ex. 25¹⁻⁹, 26¹⁻³³*Priestly Codes*Material for
the
dwell-
ing

Ex. 25 ¹Jehovah said to Moses, ²Command the Israelites that they take for me a special offering; from every man whose heart maketh him willing ye shall take my offering. ³And this is the special offering which ye shall take from them: gold, silver, brass, ⁴violet, purple, and red cloth, fine linen, goats' hair, ⁵rams' skins dyed red, Egyptian leather, acacia wood, ⁶oil for the light, spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense, ⁷onyx stones and precious stones for the ephod and for the breastplate. ⁸And let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them. ⁹Exactly as I show thee the plan of the dwelling and of all its furniture, even so shall ye make it.

Its cur-
tains

²⁶ ¹Moreover thou shalt make the dwelling with ten curtains; of fine twined linen, and violet, and purple, and red cloth, with cherubim the work of the skilled artisans shalt thou make them. ²The length of each curtain shall be twenty-eight cubits, and the width of each curtain four cubits: all

§ 134 Careful biblical students have long recognized the idealistic elements in this priestly tradition, first current in certain Jewish circles eight centuries after the days of Moses. In general character it is parallel to the Chronicler's idealized and glorified accounts of the days of David and Solomon and the pre-exilic temple. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 22-28. Gold and silver and gorgeous fabrics take the place of the plain wood, and goats' hair cloth which the desert life alone affords. Moses' attendant Joshua and the simple customs of the earlier age and narratives are supplanted by a highly developed priesthood and ritual. The institutions and ceremonial ideas of the post-exilic age are again projected back into the primitive life of the wilderness, that their origin and authority may be traced to Moses, the traditional fountain of all law. The plan and furnishings of the dwelling are also modelled after those of the pre-exilic and post-exilic temple, simply being adapted to the supposed conditions of the wilderness wanderings. Throughout, that centralization of all worship into one sanctuary, which did not come until the days of Josiah, § 140, is assumed.

It is not strange that there are occasional discrepancies. The conclusions of modern architects that a structure constructed on the plan here outlined would not bear its own weight is probably correct. To transport it a vast caravan of wagons and oxen would have been required. The complete absence of all reference to it in the pre-exilic literature, and the presence instead of the simple and very different tent of meeting, and many other convincing data confirm the conclusion that this account of the dwelling or tabernacle came from the minds of the late Jewish priests, familiar with the second temple.

The value of this elaborate description is insignificant compared with that of many other sections of the legal literature. In the past more attention has been devoted to it than it really deserves—often to the neglect of noble ethical laws, which possess a permanent value. The account of the dwelling and its furnishings and rites is important chiefly because it is an indirect picture of the second temple and of its institutions. The repetitious sections in Ex. 31¹⁻¹¹, 35-40, which simply tell in the same language of the execution of the commands to build the dwelling, have not been reproduced.

Priestly Codes

the curtains shall have the same measure. ³Each set of five curtains shall be joined to each other. ⁴And thou shalt make loops of violet on the edge of the outer curtain in the first set; and likewise shalt thou do with the edge of the outer curtain in the second set.ⁱ ⁵Fifty loops shalt thou make on the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make on the edge of the curtain that is in the second set;^j the loops shall be opposite one another. ⁶And thou shalt make fifty clasps of gold, and join the curtains to each other with the clasps, that the dwelling may be one whole.

⁷Furthermore thou shalt make curtains of goats' hair for a tent over the dwelling; eleven curtains shalt thou make for that purpose. ⁸The length of each curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the width of each curtain four cubits; the eleven curtains shall have the same measure. ⁹Thou shalt join five curtains by themselves, and the other six curtains by themselves, and the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tent thou shalt lay double. ¹⁰Moreover thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the outer curtain in the first set, and fifty loops on the edge of the outer curtain in the second set.^k ¹¹And thou shalt make fifty clasps of brass, and put the clasps into the loops, and thus join the tent together, that it may be one whole. ¹²And as for the excess^l which remaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half curtain which remaineth, shall hang over the rear of the dwelling. ¹³And the cubit on both sides, the excess length of the curtains of the tent, shall hang over both sides of the dwelling to cover it. ¹⁴Thou shalt also make a protecting covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a protecting covering of Egyptian leather^m above.

¹⁵Moreover thou shalt make the boards for the dwelling of acacia wood standing upright. ¹⁶Ten cubits shall be the length of eachⁿ board, and a cubit and a half the width of each board. ¹⁷Each board shall have two tenons mortised to each other; thus shalt thou make all the boards of the dwelling. ¹⁸Thou shalt make the boards for the dwelling, twenty boards for the south side^o facing southward. ¹⁹And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under each board for its two tenons; ²⁰and for the second side of the dwelling, facing northward,^p twenty boards, ²¹with their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under each board. ²²And for the rear of the dwelling westward thou shalt make six boards. ²³And two boards shalt thou make for the corners of the dwelling at the rear. ²⁴They shall be of equal size^q beneath, and likewise they shall be of equal

ⁱ 26⁴ Or, *on the edge of the one curtain at the end, at the place of joining . . . , at the second place of joining.*

^j 26⁵ Or, *that is, at the second place of joining.*

^k 26¹⁰ Or, *edge of the outer curtain at the place of joining, . . . that is outermost at the second place of joining.*

^l 26¹² Lit., *Overhanging part.*

^m 26¹⁴ The exact meaning of the word is uncertain. It is probably of Egyptian derivation. The current translation, *seal skins*, is very doubtful.

ⁿ 26¹⁶ So Luc. and Syr.

^o 26¹⁸ Luc., *north side.*

^p 26²⁰ Luc. *south side.*

^q 26²⁴ Heb., *twins.* The meaning may be that these corner boards are securely fastened to the adjoining boards of both the side and rear walls.

Priestly Codes

size^r at the top even to the first ring; thus shall they both be made; they shall form the two corners. ²⁵So there shall be eight boards with their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; two sockets under each board.

Con-
necting
bars

²⁶Moreover thou shalt make bars of acacia wood; five for the boards on the one side of the dwelling, ²⁷and five bars for the boards on the other side of the dwelling, and five bars for the boards on the rear of the dwelling, facing westward. ²⁸The middle bar which holds the boards shall pass through from end to end. ²⁹And thou shalt overlay the boards with gold, and make their rings of gold as holders for the bars; and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold. ³⁰So thou shalt erect the dwelling according to its plan, as it was showed thee on the mountain.

Veil be-
tween
the
holy
and
most
holy
place

³¹Furthermore thou shalt make a veil of violet, purple, and red cloth and fine twined linen; with cherubim, the work of the skilled artisan shalt thou^s make it. ³²Thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of acacia overlaid with gold; their hooks shall be of gold, upon four sockets of silver. ³³And thou shalt hang the veil under the clasps, and thou shalt bring in thither, within the veil, the ark of the testimony; thus the veil shall serve you as a partition between the holy place and the most holy.

§ 135. Furnishings of the Dwelling, Ex. 25²³⁻⁴⁰, 27¹⁻³ [Nu. 8⁷],
Ex. 30^{17-21, 1-8}, 26³⁴⁻³⁷

Priestly Codes

Table
of
show-
bread

Ex. 25 ²³Moreover thou shalt make a table^t of acacia wood: two cubits long, a cubit wide, and a cubit and a half high. ²⁴Thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereon a crown of gold round about. ²⁵Thou shalt also make for it a border of a handbreadth round about; and thou shalt make a golden crown for its border round about. ²⁶Then thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and fasten the rings at the four corners that are on its four feet. ²⁷Close by the border shall the rings be, as holders for the staves whereby the table is borne. ²⁸And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold; with them shall the table be borne. ²⁹Thou shalt also make for it dishes, and cups, and flagons, and bowls with which the libation is poured out; of pure gold shalt thou make them. ³⁰And thou shalt set showbread upon the table before me continually.

Golden
candle-
stick

³¹Moreover thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold; of beaten work shalt thou make^u the candlestick, even its base and its shaft; its cups, and^v its gourds, and its flowers shall be of one piece with it.^w ³²And there shall

^r 26²⁴ So Sam. and Luc. Heb., *entire*.

^s 26³¹ So Luc. and Syr. Heb., *shall he make it*.

§ 135 The diagram on the opposite page suggests the general plan and arrangements of the dwelling and its surrounding court.

^t 25²³ Luc., *of pure gold and acacia wood*.

^u 25³¹ So Luc., Sam. and Syr. Heb., *shall be made*. A briefer description of the candlestick is also given in Nu. 8⁴.

^v 25³¹ So Luc. Heb., *its cups, its gourds and its flowers, i. e.*, its cuplike ornaments consisting of gourds and flowers.

^w 25³¹ Lit., *shall come forth from it*. Cf. also Nu. 8⁴.

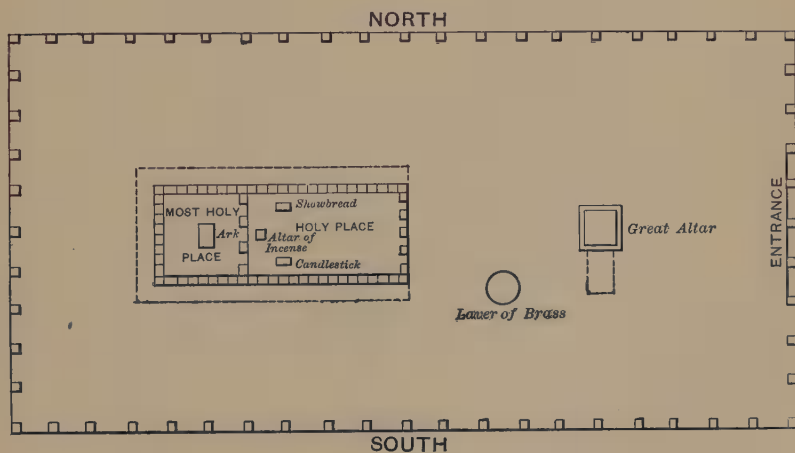
Priestly Codes

be six branches going out from its sides: three branches of the candlestick from each side. ³³There shall be three cups made like almond-blossoms on each branch, consisting of a gourd and a flower; so for the six branches springing from the candlestick; ³⁴and on the candlestick four cups made like almond-blossoms, its gourds and flowers; ³⁵and a gourd under each pair of branches, of one piece with it, so^a for the six branches springing from the candlestick. ³⁶Their gourds and their branches shall be one piece with it; the whole a single piece of beaten work of pure gold. ³⁷Thou shalt also make its lamps, seven; and thou^b shalt set up its lamps that they may give light over against it. ³⁸And its snuffers and the snuffdishes, shall be of pure gold. ³⁹Of a talent of pure gold thou^c shalt make it, with all these vessels. ⁴⁰And see that thou make them after their plan, which was shown thee on the mountain.

27 ¹Thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five cubits long, and five cubits wide; the altar shall be square and its height shall be three cubits. ²And thou shalt make the horns for it on the four corners; the horns shall be of one piece with it; and thou shalt overlay it with brass. ³And thou shalt make its pots for taking away its ashes, and its shovels and its basins, and its flesh-hooks, and its firepans; all its vessels shalt thou make of brass. ⁴And thou shalt make for it a grating of network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brazen rings at the four corners. ⁵And thou shalt put it under the ledge round the altar, that the net may reach half way up the

Sacri-
ficial
altar
and its
uten-
sils

- ^a 25³⁵ So Luc. The Heb. omits, so.
^b 25³⁷ So Luc. Heb., *he shall*.
^c 25³⁹ So Luc. Heb., *shall he make it*.



PLAN OF THE DWELLING AND ITS COURT

Priestly Codes

altar. ⁶Thou shalt also make staves for the altar, staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with brass. ⁷And in carrying it, its staves shall be put into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two sides of the altar. ⁸Hol-low, with planks shalt thou make it; as it was shown to thee on the mountain shalt thou make it.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Ex. 30 ¹⁷Jehovah also gave this command to Moses, ¹⁸Thou shalt make a laver of brass, with its base of brass, to be used for washing. Thou shalt put ~~it~~ between the tent of meeting and the altar, and thou shalt put water in it, ¹⁹so that Aaron and his sons may wash their hands and their feet in it; ²⁰when-ever they enter the tent of meeting, they shall wash with water, that they die not; or whenever they come near the altar to minister, to burn an offering made by fire to Jehovah. ²¹So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not. This shall be statute forever^d for them, even for him and his descendants throughout their generations.

30 ¹Moreover thou shalt make an altar upon which to burn incense; of acacia wood shalt thou make it. ²A cubit shall be its length, and a cubit its width; it shall be square; and its height shall be two cubits; its horns shall be of one piece with it. ³And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, its top, and the sides round about, and its horns; and thou shalt make on it a rim^e of gold round about. ⁴And two golden rings shalt thou make for it under its rim, upon its two ribs;^f upon the two sides of it thou shalt make them; and they shall serve^g as holders for the staves with which to carry it. ⁵And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. ⁶And thou shalt put it before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony, before the cover that is over the testimony, where I will meet with thee.

Ex. 26 ³⁴And thou shalt put the cover upon the ark of the testimony in the most holy place. ³⁵And thou shalt set the table without the veil, and the candlestick opposite the table on the south side of the dwelling; and thou shalt put the table on the north side. ³⁶Moreover thou shalt make a screen for the door of the tent, of violet, purple, and red cloth, and fine twined linen, embroidered work. ³⁷And thou shalt make for the screen five pillars of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold; their hooks shall be of gold; and thou shalt cast five sockets of brass for them.

^d 30²¹ Or, *perpetual regulation*.

^e 30³ *Border or crown*.

^f 30⁴ *Upon its two ribs*, is possibly secondary, a marginal note from 25¹².

^g 30⁴ Luc. and Sam. Heb., *it shall be*.

§ 136. Court of the Dwelling, Ex. 27⁹⁻¹⁰*Priestly Code*

Ex. 27 ⁹Thus shalt thou make the court of the dwelling: for the southern court there shall be hangings of fine twined linen a hundred cubits long on a side; ¹⁰and its pillars shall be twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets shall be of silver. ¹¹And likewise for the north side^h the hangings shall be a hundred cubits in length, and its pillars twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets, of silver. ¹²And along the width of the court on the west side shall be hangings of fifty cubits; their pillars ten, and their sockets ten. ¹³And the court on the east side facing eastward shall be fifty cubits wide. ¹⁴The hangings for the one side shall be fifteen cubits, their pillars three, and their sockets three. ¹⁵And for the other side there shall be hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three. ¹⁶And for the gate of the court there shall be a screen of twenty cubits, of violet, and purple, and red cloth, and fine twined linen, embroidered work; their pillars four and their sockets four. ¹⁷All the pillars of the court round about shall be filleted with silver; their hooks also shall be of silver, but their sockets of brass. ¹⁸The length of the court shall be a hundred cubits, and the width fifty cubits, and the height fiveⁱ cubits.^j ¹⁹All the utensils of the dwelling for all its service, and all its pins, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.

Plan
and
dimen-
sions

II

ALTARS AND TEMPLES

§ 137. Ancient Altars and Places of Sacrifice, Ex. 20²⁴⁻²⁶ [Dt. 27⁵⁻⁷]*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 20 ²⁴An altar of earth shalt thou make for me, and shalt sacrifice on it thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen; in

Direc-
tions
regard-
ing
con-
struc-
tion
and
use

§ 136 This description is so much condensed that the meaning is not always clear.

^h 27¹¹ So Luc. and Sam. The Heb. inserts, *long*.

ⁱ 27¹⁸ So Sam. Heb., *five hundred*. Luc., *one hundred everywhere, and its width one hundred everywhere*.

^j 27¹⁸ A scribe has added by mistake from ¹⁶, ¹⁷, *of fine twined linen, and their sockets of brass*.

§ 137 This primitive law, reproduced with slight abridgement and variations in Dt. 27⁵⁻⁷ reflects vividly the primitive usage and point of view. The command not to hew with an iron instrument the stone used as an altar, probably finds its ultimate basis in the early belief that the *nurpen* or spirit of the deity dwelt in the rock upon which the blood of the sacrifice was poured, and that a blow might drive it away. Cf. I Kgs. 18³¹, ³², Josh. 8³¹, I Sam. 14³²⁻³⁴. It also reveals the earliest conception of sacrifice: the blood poured out upon the rock in which the spirit of the god resided established the bond between the deity and his subjects, who presented and also shared in the sacrifice, cf. note § 195. The ritualistic injunctions remained in force long after the naïve, primitive ideas that suggested them had yielded to a broader faith.

The variant version in Dt. reads: *There thou shalt build an altar for Jehovah thy God, an altar of stones; thou shalt swing no iron tool over them. Thou shalt build the altar of Jehovah thy God of unhewn stones; and thou shalt offer burnt-offerings on it to Jehovah thy God. And thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings, and shall eat there; and thou shalt rejoice before Jehovah thy God.*

Primitive Codes

every place, where I record my name,^a I will come to thee and I will bless thee. ²⁵But if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones; for if thou swing an iron tool over it, thou hast polluted it. ²⁶Thou shalt not ascend by steps to mine altar,^b that thy nakedness may not be uncovered before it.

§ 138. Solomon's Temple, I Kgs. 6²⁻⁶, 8, 9, 15-35*Temple Records*Dimen-
sions

I Kgs. 6 ²The length of the temple which King Solomon built for Jehovah was sixty and its breadth twenty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. ³And the porch before the large room of the temple was twenty cubits wide, corresponding to the width of the temple, and ten cubits deep before the temple. ⁴And for the temple he made windows with narrowed frames.

Side-
cham-
bers

⁵And around against the wall of the temple he built wings, both around the larger room and the inner room, and made side-chambers round about. ⁶The lower side-chamber was five cubits broad, and the middle six cubits broad, and the third seven cubits broad; for on the outside he made offsets around about the temple in order not to make an inset into the walls of the temple. ⁸The entrance into the lower side-chambers was on the south side of the temple. And one could go up by winding stairs into the middle story, and from the middle into the third. ⁹So he built the temple and finished it; and he covered the temple with cedar.

Inter-
ior dec-
orations

¹⁵And he built the walls of the temple within with boards of cedar, from the floor of the temple to the rafters of the ceiling, overlaying them on the inside with wood; and he covered the floor of the temple with boards of cypress. ¹⁶And he built off the back twenty cubits from the innermost part of the temple with boards of cedar from the floor to the rafters; he built it within for an inner room, even for the most holy place. ¹⁷And the temple, that is the large room before the inner room, was forty cubits long. ¹⁸And there was cedar in the interior of the temple, carving in the form of gourds and open flowers; all was cedar, no stone was seen. ¹⁹And he prepared an inner room in the interior of the temple in order to place there the ark of the covenant of Jehovah. ²⁰And the inner room was twenty cubits long and twenty cubits broad and twenty cubits high. And he overlaid it with pure gold. And he made an altar of cedar wood ²¹before the inner room, and he overlaid it with gold. ²²And the whole temple was overlaid with gold, until all the temple was finished. ²⁹And he carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubim and palm trees and opening flowers, both in the inner and outer rooms. ³⁰And the floor of the temple he overlaid with gold.

The
cheru-
bim

^{23a}And in the inner room he made two cherubim of olive wood. ²⁶The height of the one cherub was ten cubits, and so was that of the other—^{23b}each

^a Ex. 20²⁴ Lit., *cause my name to be remembered, i. e., at each of the many sacred places, where according to tradition Jehovah had revealed himself, as, for example, at Bethel.*

^b Ex. 20²⁶ *I. e., the approach was to be by a natural incline.*

§ 138 The account of Solomon's temple is here reproduced from Vol. II, pp. 181-6, that it may be possible to make a complete study of this important institution. For the variations from the Heb. text, cf. Vol. II, notes under § 51. For the plans cf. opp. page.

Temple Records

ten cubits high. ²⁴And one wing of the cherub measured five cubits, and the other wing of the cherub also five cubits—ten cubits from the extremity of one wing to the extremity of the other. ²⁵And the other cherub also measured ten cubits: both the cherubim were of the same measurement and form. ²⁷And he set up the cherubim in the inner room of the temple, and the wings of the cherubim were stretched forth, so that the wing of the one touched the one wall, while the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall, and their wings touched one another in the middle of the temple ²⁸and he overlaid the cherubim with gold.

³¹And the door of the inner room he made with folding doors of olive wood; the pilasters formed a pentagonal. ³²And on the two doors of olive wood he carved carvings of cherubim and palm trees and opening flowers, and he spread the gold over the cherubim and the palm trees.

³³So also he made for the door of the large room posts of olive wood, four square, ³⁴and two folding leaves of cypress wood: the two leaves of the one door were folding, and the two leaves of the other door were folding. ³⁵And he carved cherubim and palm trees and opening flowers, and overlaid them with gold applied evenly to the carving.

Door of the inner room

§ 139. Ornamentations and Furnishings of Solomon's Temple, I Kgs. 7¹³⁻⁴⁴, II Chr. 4^{1, 7, 8} [3^{15, 17}, 4^{2, 6, 8}, 5¹, Jer. 52²¹⁻²³]

Temple Records

I Kgs. 7 ¹³Then King Solomon sent and brought Hiram-abi from Tyre. ¹⁴He was the son of a widow of the tribe of Naphtali, an Aramean worker in brass; and he was gifted with skill, understanding, and knowledge to carry on all kinds of work in brass. And he came to King Solomon and did all his work. ¹⁵For he cast the two pillars of brass for the porch of the temple. Eighteen cubits was the height of one pillar, and its circumference measured twelve cubits; the thickness of the pillar was four fingers—it was hollow. And the second pillar was similar. ¹⁶And he made two capitals of molten brass, to set upon the tops of the pillars; the height of the one capital was five cubits, and the height of the other capital was five cubits. ¹⁷And he made two nets (woven work, festoons, chain-work) for the capitals which were on the top of the pillars; a net for the one capital, and a net for the other capital. ^{18a}And he made the pomegranates; and two rows of pomegranates in brass were upon the one network, ^{20b}and there were two hundred pomegranates—two rows around about the one capital. ^{18c}And he did the same to the other capital. ¹⁹And the capitals that were upon the top of the pillars in the porch were of lily-work—four cubits. ^{20a}And there were capitals above also upon the two pillars, in connection with the bowl-shaped part of the pillar which was beside the network. ²¹And he set up the pillars at the porch of the temple: and he set up the pillar at the right and called it Jachin; and he set up the pillar at the left and called it Boaz. ²²And upon the top of the pillars was lily-work. So was the work of the pillars finished.

²³And he made the molten sea ten cubits in diameter from brim to brim, and five cubits high, and its circumference measured thirty cubits. ²⁴And

Molten sea

Temple Records

under its brim on the outside were gourds which encircled it, for thirty cubits, encircling the sea on the outside; the gourds were in two rows, cast when it was cast. ²⁶And it was a handbreadth thick; and its brim was wrought like the brim of a cup, similar to the flower of a lily. It held about sixteen thousand gallons. ²⁵It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east; and the sea was set down upon them, and all their hinder parts were turned inward.

**Mov-
able
brazen
stands** ²⁷And he made the ten stands of brass; each stand was four cubits long, four cubits broad, and three cubits high. ²⁸And the stands were made as follows: they had border-frames, and the border-frames were between the upright supports; ²⁹and on the border-frames that were between the upright supports were lions, oxen, and cherubim; and upon the upright supports likewise; and above and beneath the lions and oxen and cherubim was bevelled work. ^{30a}And every stand had four wheels of brass and axles of brass. ³²And the four wheels were underneath the border-frames; and the axles and the wheels were cast as a part of the stand. And the height of each wheel was a cubit and a half. ³³And the construction of the wheels was like that of a chariot wheel: their axles, their felloes, their spokes, and their hubs, were all cast. ³⁴And at the four corners of each stand were four shoulder-pieces; the shoulder-pieces were cast as part of the stand. ³⁵And in the top of the stand was a round opening, half a cubit high, and on the top of the stand were its stays and its border-frames. ³⁶And on the flat surface of the stays and border-frames, he engraved cherubim, lions, and palm trees, according to the space on each, with wreaths round about. ^{30b}And the four corners had shoulder-pieces: beneath the bowl the shoulder-pieces were cast, with wreaths at the side of each. ³¹And its opening within the shoulder-pieces was a cubit and more: and its opening was round after the form of a pedestal (a cubit and a half) and also upon its opening were gravings, and its border-frames were square, not round. ³⁷Thus he made the ten stands: all of them had one casting, and were of the same measure and form.

**Posi-
tion
of the
stands
with
their
lavers** ³⁸And he made ten lavers of brass; a laver contained three hundred and twenty gallons, and each laver measured four cubits; and on each one of the ten stands was a laver. ³⁹And he set the stands, five on the right side of the temple and five on the left side of the temple; and he set the sea on the right side of the temple eastward toward the south.

**Altar of
brass** **II Chr. 4** ¹Moreover he made an altar of brass—twenty cubits long, and twenty cubits broad, and ten cubits high.

**Candle-
sticks** ²And he made the ten candlesticks of gold according to the directions concerning them; and he set them in the temple, five on the right hand and five on the left. ⁸He made also ten tables, and placed them in the temple, five on the right side and five on the left. And he made a hundred golden bowls.

**Com-
pletion
of the
work** **I Kgs. 7** ⁴⁰And Hiram made the lavers and the shovels, and the bowls. So Hiram completed all the work that he wrought for King Solomon in the temple of Jehovah: ⁴¹the two pillars and the two bowl-shaped capitals that were on the top of the pillars, ⁴²and the four hundred pomegranates for

Temple Records

the two networks to cover the two bowl-shaped capitals that were on the top of the pillars,⁴³ and the ten stands and the ten lavers on the stands,⁴⁴ and the one sea with the twelve oxen under the sea.

§ 140. The Later Law of the One Sanctuary, Dt. 12¹⁰⁻¹⁸, 16⁵, 6, Lev. 17³⁻⁵, 7
[Dt. 12¹⁻¹², 19-21, 26-28, 14²²⁻²⁷, 15¹⁹, 20, 31¹⁰, 11]

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 12 ¹⁰When ye shall have crossed the Jordan, and dwell in the land which Jehovah your God hath given you as an inheritance, and he shall have given you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety;¹¹ then to the place, where Jehovah your God shall choose to have his name dwell, ye shall bring all that I command you: your burnt-offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the special gifts of your hand, and all your choice votive-offerings which ye vow to Jehovah. ¹²And ye shall rejoice before Jehovah your God, together with your sons, your daughters, your male and female slaves, and the Levite who dwells in your city, for he hath no portion nor inheritance with you.

¹³Take heed not to offer thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest; ¹⁴but in the place which Jehovah shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee.

¹⁵Yet thou mayest to thy heart's desire kill and eat flesh within any of thy cities, according as Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee: the unclean and the clean may eat of it, as of the gazelle and as of the hart. ¹⁶Only ye shall not eat of the blood; thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water.

¹⁷Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy grain of thy new wine, or of thine oil, or of the firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, or any of thy votive-offerings which thou vowest, nor thy voluntary-offerings, nor the special gifts of thy hand; ¹⁸but thou shalt eat them before Jehovah thy God in the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose, together with thy son, thy daughter, thy male and female slaves, and the Levite who dwelleth in thy city; and thou shalt rejoice before Jehovah thy God over all which thou hast attained.

16 ⁵Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover in any of thy cities, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee ⁶but at the place in which Jehovah thy God shall choose to have his name dwell, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover

§ 140. The higher religious and ethical teachings of the great prophets of the Assyrian period and the evils, which became glaringly apparent in the reactionary reign of Manasseh, when heathenism had full sway, revealed clearly to the later prophets and priests who formulated the Deuteronomic and Holiness codes, the impossibility of developing the pure worship of Jehovah at the high places throughout the land. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 32, 33. Too many heathen traditions and debasing customs still clung to those ancient shrines. At Jerusalem under the direction of the more enlightened prophets and priests the higher ideals could be more favorably inculcated. The present laws prescribe this revolutionizing change in the national worship; with one stroke all the local festivals and cults are forbidden and all the formal religious life of Judah is centred in Jerusalem. The change marks in many ways, one of the most radical religious reformations recorded in human history.

Deuteronomic Codes

in the evening as the sun goes down, at the fixed time when thou camest forth from Egypt.

Holiness Code

Every animal slain to be presented at the temple

Lev. 17 ³If there be any man of the house of Israel who killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, either within the camp or without the camp,^c ⁴and doth not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting, to present it as an offering to Jehovah before the dwelling of Jehovah, blood-guilt shall be imputed to that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people, ⁵in order that the Israelites may bring their sacrifices which they are wont to sacrifice in the open field, to Jehovah, at the entrance of the tent of meeting, to the priest, and sacrifice them as sacrifices of peace-offerings to Jehovah. ⁷And they shall no more offer their sacrifices to the satyrs, which they faithlessly worship.^d This shall be an everlasting statute for them throughout their generations.

III

EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE PLAN

§ 141. The Outer Gates and Court, Ezek. 40^{a-27}*Ezekiel's Code*

Introduction: the prophet's vision

Ezek. 40 ¹In the twenty-fifth year of our captivity, in the beginning^a of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after the

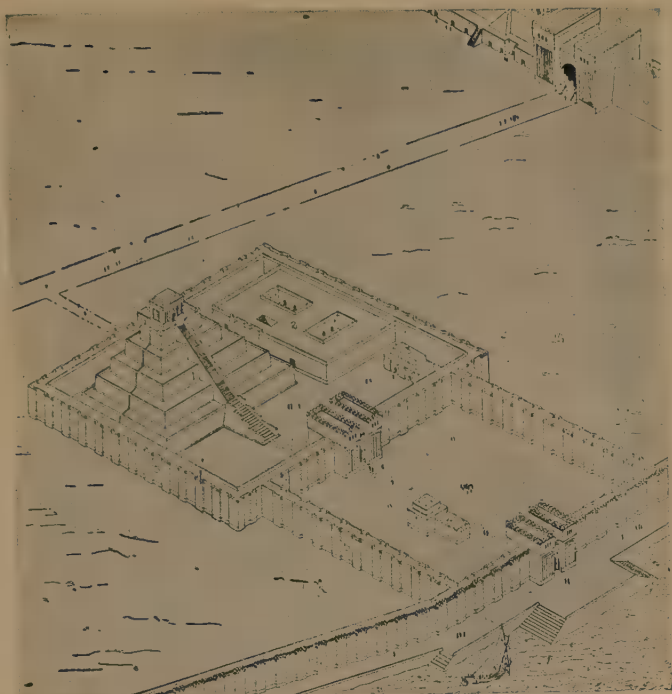
^c Lev. 17³ This law of one central sanctuary stands at the beginning of the Holiness Code. A later priestly editor has added clauses here and there to adapt it to its present context, which assumes the point of view of the Wilderness, and is concerned with the tent of meeting.

^d Lev. 17⁷ Lit., *after which they play the harlot*.

Ezekiel's Temple Plan.—Excepting the brief appendix, 29¹⁷⁻²¹, this plan of the restored temple and of its service represents Ezekiel's closing work. It is dated in the year 572 B.C., twenty-five years after he was carried a captive to Babylon, and fourteen years after the fall of Jerusalem. The plan reveals at every turn the two great influences that had come into Ezekiel's life. The first was his acquaintance with the structure and institutions of the pre-exilic temple, in close connection with which he, as the son of a priest, had been reared. In his general plan of the temple proper he appears to have followed that of Solomon, cf. § 138, although there are variations in the detailed measurements. The other prominent influence is that of the Babylonian life and civilization amidst which he had lived for twenty-five years. This influence is most evident in the great guarded gateways and thick walls with which he in imagination encircles his sanctuary. Like most of the Babylonian temples, that of Ezek. is, indeed, a small city in itself, with many surrounding edifices for the uses of the priests and the ritual; and all is encircled by high walls which render it an almost invincible fortress. For the general type of oriental temples that he had in mind cf. the opposite page. Thus the prophet, in this concrete way, emphasized the holiness of the God who was to dwell in this sacred citadel, and the necessity of guarding Israel's Holy One from all that was ceremonially defiling, cf. *Introd.*, pp. 37, 38.

The Heb. text of Ezek. 40-48 is exceedingly corrupt. The original descriptions were often obscure; when these were not fully understood, scribal errors were sure to creep in. Mistakes are also especially easy where detailed measurements and similar recurring formulas are common. In many cases the Gk. has undoubtedly preserved better readings. In the description of the temple and its adjuncts the Gk. version differs so widely from the Heb. and is so consistent with itself that it is probable that they each represent independent recensions, and present two distinct plans of the temple. In general the Heb. text has here been followed, except where it is obviously in error and the Gk. in the right. The accompanying plans of the gateways and temple enclosure will facilitate the understanding of the text, cf. p. 164.

^a 41¹ As in Lev. 25⁹ the sacred new year began in the seventh year of the Babylonian or secular calendar, i. e., in September.



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A Babylonian Temple (Nippur)



An Egyptian Temple (Luxor)

ORIENTAL TEMPLES

Ezekiel's Code

city was taken, on that very day, the hand of Jehovah was laid upon me, and he brought me ²in an inspired vision^b to the land of Israel, and set me down upon a very high mountain,^c on which was a city-like building toward the south.^d ³Thither he brought me, and there was a man whose appearance was like the appearance of bronze, with a flaxen line and a measuring reed in his hand; and he was standing in the gateway. ⁴And the man said to me, Son of man, behold with thine eyes, and hear with thine ears, and give heed^e to all that I shall show thee; for, in order that thou shouldst be shown it wert thou brought hither; declare all that thou seest to the house of Israel.

⁵There was a wall encircling a temple, and in the man's hand a measuring reed six cubits long, each cubit being equal to a cubit and a handbreadth^f and he measured the thickness of the building, one reed; and the height one reed. Encircling wall

⁶Then he came to the east gateway and went up its steps and measured the threshold of the gate one reed wide.^g ⁷And each guard-room was one reed long, and one reed broad; and between the guard-rooms were spaces^h of five cubits; and the threshold of the gate at the vestibule of the gate on the inner side was one reed.ⁱ ⁹Then he measured the vestibule of the gate, eight cubits, and its jambs, two cubits; and the vestibule of the gate was on the inner side. ¹⁰And the guard-rooms of the east gate were three on each side; all three were of the same dimensions; and the posts were on both sides. ¹¹And he measured the breadth of the entrance to the gateway, ten cubits; and the width^j of the gate, thirteen cubits; ¹²and there was a sill one cubit wide, before the guard-rooms on each side; and the guard-rooms, six cubits on both sides.^k East outer gateway

¹³And he measured the gate from the outer wall of the one guard-room to the outer wall^l of the other, twenty-five cubits wide; door opposite door. ¹⁴He also measured the vestibule,^m twentyⁿ cubits; and the court reached to the jambs, round about the gateway. ¹⁵And from the front of the gateway at the entrance to the front of the inner vestibule of the gate were fifty cubits. Dimensions of the gateway

^b 40¹. ² Lit., *vision of God*, following the superior Gk. and Syr. The Heb. adds, *thither* at the end of ¹ and repeats the verb, probably from ³.

^c 40² Cf. for the same idea, Is. 2², Mi. 4¹.

^d 40² Or Gk., *opposite*; but according to 21² the prophet came from the north. The temple buildings referred to were also along the southern slope of the temple hill.

^e 40⁴ Heb., *set thy heart upon*.

^f 40⁵ Ezekiel's long cubit was probably about 21 inches. Herodotus (I. 178) states that the royal Babylonian cubit was three digits longer than the ordinary cubit.

^g 40⁶ So Gk. In the Heb. a scribe has by mistake repeated the last clause.

^h 40⁷ These were the niches, three on each side of the passage way, for the guards and Levites, cf. I Kgs. 14²⁸, II Chr. 12¹¹.

ⁱ 40⁷ Some Heb. texts add the following gloss which contradicts ⁸ and is practically unintelligible, *He measured also the vestibule of the gate on the inner side, one reed*. This is not found in the Gk. The error is probably due to the fact that the scribe started to copy ⁹ entire.

^j 40¹¹ The Heb. reads, *the length of the gate thirteen cubits*, but this contradicts ¹⁵, 21. Either this is a gloss or else the text should be slightly revised so as to read as above.

^k 40¹² The meaning possibly is that these barriers or sills before the guard-rooms were six cubits long and one in height and thickness.

^l 40¹³ Following the Gk.

^m 40¹⁴ Restoring the text as the context demands. The latter part of the vs. is very doubtful and obscure. The Gk. has an entirely different reading.

ⁿ 40¹⁴ So Gk. Heb., *60*, but the Gk. is supported by the other measurements in the Heb.

Ezekiel's Code

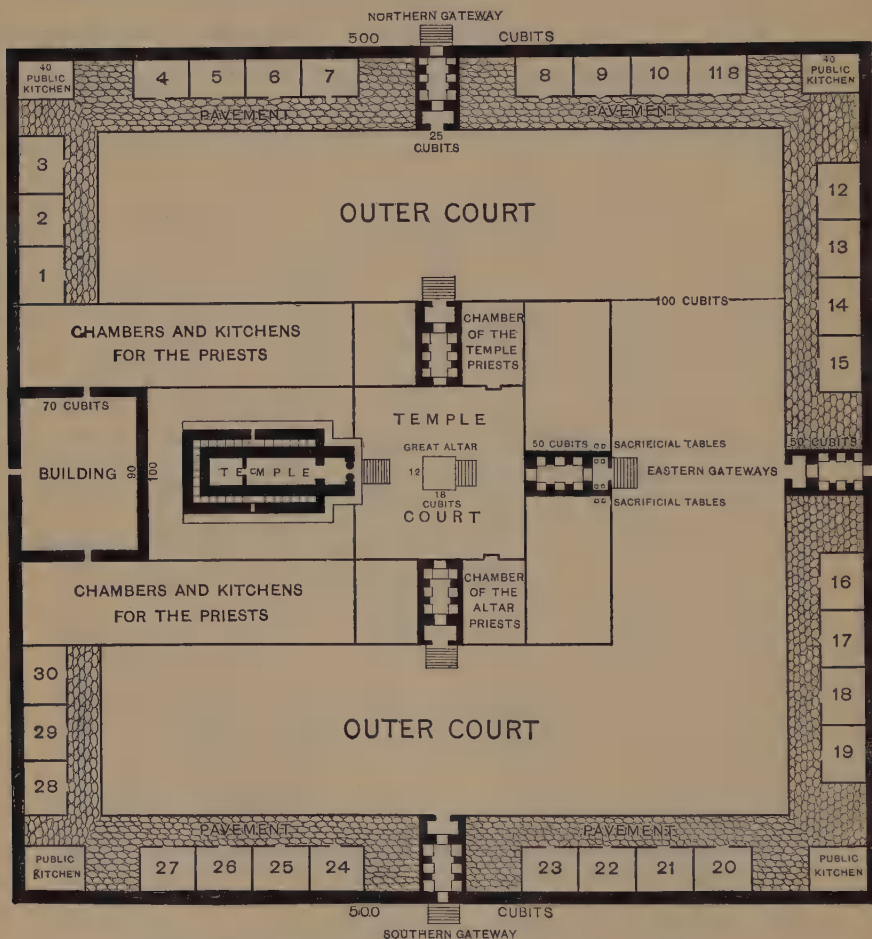
¹⁶And the guard-rooms and their jambs had windows,^o within the gate round about, and likewise the vestibule^p had windows round about within; and on each jamb were palm-trees.

Outer
court

¹⁷Then he brought me into the outer court, and there were chambers and a pavement made round about the court; thirty chambers were upon the pavement. ¹⁸And the pavement was on the side of the gateways; it

^o 40¹⁶ Or, *latticed*.

^p 40¹⁶ The Heb. text is corrupt; a scribe has apparently confused the Heb. word for *vestibule* with the similar word for *arch*.



GENERAL PLAN OF EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE

Ezekiel's Code

corresponded to the length of the gateways, that is, the lower pavement. ¹⁹Then he measured the breadth from the front of the lower gate to the front of the inner court without, one hundred cubits on the east and on the north.

²⁰And the north gateway of the outer court, he measured its length and breadth. ²¹And there were three guard-rooms on each side; and its jambs and its vestibules^a corresponded to the measurement of the first gate; its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty cubits. ²²And its windows and its vestibule^a and its palm trees measured the same as those of the east gate; and seven steps led up to it; its vestibule was within.^r ²³And there was a gate to the inner court opposite the north gate, corresponding to the one on the east;^s and he measured from gate to gate one hundred cubits.

²⁴And he led me toward the south; and he measured its guard-rooms^t and its jambs and its vestibule; they were of the same dimensions as the others. ²⁵And there were windows in it and in its vestibule round about corresponding to the other windows; the length was fifty cubits, and the breadth twenty-five cubits. ²⁶And seven steps led up to it, and its vestibule^u was within; and it had palm-trees, one on each side of its jambs. ²⁷And there was a gate to the inner court on the south; and he measured from gate to gate toward the south a hundred cubits.

§ 142. The Inner Court, Ezek. 40^{28-47a}*Ezekiel's Code*

Ezek. 40 ²⁸Then he brought me to the inner court at the south gateway; and he measured the south gateway; it measured the same as the others; ²⁹its guard-rooms, and posts and vestibule were of the same dimensions as the preceding; and there were windows in it and in its vestibule round about; it was fifty cubits long and twenty-five cubits wide.^v ³¹And its vestibule faced the outer court; and there were palm-trees beside its posts; and the ascent to it had eight steps.

³²And he brought me to the east side of the inner court; and he measured the gateway; it measured the same as the others; ³³and its guard-rooms and posts and vestibules were of the same dimensions as the preceding; and there were windows in it and in the vestibule round about; it was fifty cubits long and twenty-five cubits wide. ³⁴And its vestibule faced the outer court; and there were beside its palm-trees posts, one on each side; and the ascent to it had eight steps.

³⁵Then he brought me to the north gateway; and he measured the gateway; it measured the same as the others. ³⁶And its guard-rooms and posts and vestibules were of the same dimensions as the preceding; and there were

^a 40²¹, ²² Standard Heb. text, *arches*.

^r 40²² So Gk. Heb., *before them*.

^s 40²³ The Heb. has simply, *to the east*.

^t 40²⁴ So Gk. The Heb. omits, *and its guard-rooms*.

^u 40²⁶ Translating as in ²².

^v 40²⁹ The Gk. omits ³⁰. A scribe adds in the Heb. different dimensions, *Its vestibule round about was twenty-five cubits long and five cubits wide*. These, however, are impossible.

Ezekiel's Code

windows in it and in the vestibule round about; it was fifty cubits long and twenty-five cubits wide. ³⁷And its vestibule faced the outer court; and there were beside its palm-trees posts, one on each side; and the ascent to it had eight steps.

Sacrifi-
cial
tables

³⁸And there was a chamber with its opening into the vestibule of the gateway;^w there they washed the burnt-offering. ³⁹And in the vestibule of the gateway were two tables on each side, on which were slain the burnt-offerings and the sin-offerings and the guilt-offerings. ⁴⁰And outside the entrance to the gateway on the north, were two tables. ⁴¹There were four within and four without the gateway: eight tables, upon which the burnt-offerings were slain. ⁴²There were also four tables for the burnt-offering, of hewn stone, each a cubit and a half long, and a cubit and a half broad, and a cubit high; on which they laid the instruments wherewith the burnt-offerings and the sacrificial animals were slain, ⁴³and projections, one handbreadth in length, were fastened within round about. And over the tables were protecting roofs to keep off the rain and the hot sun.^a

Cham-
bers for
the
acting
priests

⁴⁴He brought me outside the gate and into the inner court, and there were two chambers on the inner court,^b one by the north gate, facing the south, the other by the south gate facing the north. ⁴⁵And he said to me, This chamber, which faces the south, is for the priests, who have charge of the temple; ⁴⁶and the chamber which faces the north is for the priests who have charge of the altar; they are the sons of Zadok, those of the sons of Levi who may come near to Jehovah to serve him. ^{47a}And he measured the court, a hundred cubits wide, and a hundred cubits broad—a perfect square.

§ 143. The Great Altar, Ezek. 40^{47b}, 43¹³⁻²⁷*Ezekiel's Code*

Dimen-
sions

Ezek. 40 ^{47b}The altar was in front of the temple. **43** ¹³And these are the measurements of the altar in cubits of a cubit and a handbreadth: the base shall be a cubit high, one cubit wide, with a border around its edge about a span wide; and this shall be the height of the altar: ¹⁴from the foundation base^c to the lower ledge shall be two cubits, and the width one cubit; and from the smaller ledge to the greater ledge shall be four cubits, and the width one cubit. ¹⁵And the altar hearth^d shall be four cubits high; and above the hearth^e shall be four horns, one cubit high. ¹⁶And the altar

^w 40³⁸ Following a text slightly corrected by the aid of the Gk. and in accord with the demands of the architectural plan. Heb., *by the posts, the gates*. This chamber was probably one of the niches or guard-rooms. The Heb. reads, *a chamber and its door with jambs at the gateways*. Probably the eastern gateway is the one here intended, although the context suggests the one on the north.

^a 40⁴³ So Gk. Heb., *and on the tables was the flesh of the oblation*.

^b 40⁴⁴ So Gk. The Heb. text is exceedingly corrupt. The Heb. also reads, *east*, in the last line instead of *south gate*, as the context strongly demands.

§ 143 The general plan of the great altar was probably modelled closely after that of Solomon and is especially valuable, since for some reason the description of the latter has fallen out of the text of I Kgs. 6. The diagram opposite will suggest the form of Ezekiel's altar.

^c 43¹⁴ Lit., *base of the earth; of the earth* may be a scribal error. Gk., *from the top of the base*.

^d 43¹⁵ So Gk., Syr. and Lat.

^e 43¹⁵ Again following the Gk.

Ezekiel's Code

hearth shall be twelve cubits square. ¹⁷And the ledge shall be fourteen cubits square; and the border about it shall be half a cubit; and the base one cubit wide round about. Its steps shall face the east.

¹⁸Then he said to me, O man, thus saith the Lord Jehovah: 'These are the regulations for the altar in the day when it is completed, "In order that burnt-offerings may be offered and blood sprinkled on it, ¹⁹thou shalt give^f to the priests the Levites who are of the family of Zadok, who approach to serve me," saith the Lord Jehovah, "a young bullock as a sin-offering.^g ²⁰And they^h shall take some of its blood, and put it on the four horns, and on the four corners of the ledge, and on the border round about; thus shall they cleanse it and make atonement for it. ²¹They shall also take the bullock of the sin-offering, and it shall be burnt in the appointed place outside the temple. ²²And on the second day they shall offer a male goat without blemish as a sin-offering, and shall cleanse the altar, as they cleansed it with the bullock. ²³When they have made an end of cleansing it, they shall offer a young bullock and a ram from the flock without blemish. ²⁴And they shall present them before Jehovah, and the priests shall sprinkle salt upon themⁱ and they shall offer them as a burnt-offering to Jehovah. ²⁵Seven days shalt thou provide daily a goat as a sin-offering;^j they shall also provide a young bullock, and a ram from the flock, without blemish. ²⁶For seven days shall they make atonement for the altar and purify and consecrate it. ²⁷At the end of these days, on the eighth day and thereafter, the priests shall present your burnt-offerings and your peace-offerings upon the altar;^k and I will accept you," saith the Lord Jehovah.'

Consecration of the altar

^f 43¹⁹ The regular form of the religious commands. The community, not Ezek., is addressed. He himself was one of the Levitical priests to which reference is made.

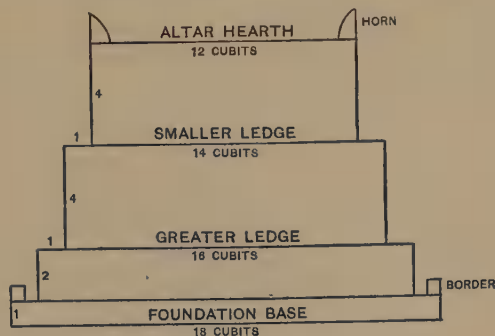
^g 43¹⁹ The sin-offering, as elsewhere in the priestly laws is not for moral but ceremonial defilement cf. note § 204.

^h 43²⁰ So Gk. The Heb. has the second person singular throughout this and the following vss., except in ²², ²⁵. The Gk. evidently has the original reading and the variations are due to a scribe who was influenced by Ex. 29³⁶, Lev. 18¹¹ where the second person singular is used.

ⁱ 43²⁴ I. e., the food for the Deity was prepared as an ordinary meal.

^j 43²⁵ So the Gk. and the marginal reading of the Heb.

^k 43²⁷ Cf. for the similar ceremony in the priestly codes, Ex. 29¹⁰⁻²⁰ § 162.



§ 144. The Temple Proper, Ezek. 40⁴⁸-41⁴, 15b-26*Ezekiel's Code*

Porch

Ezek. 40 ⁴⁸Then he brought me to the porch of the temple, and measured the jambs of the porch on each side,¹ five cubits in thickness, and the width of the gate was fourteen cubits and the pillars of the gate were three cubits thick on each side. ⁴⁹The dimensions of the porch were twenty by twelve^m cubits; and the ascent was by ten steps;ⁿ and there were pillars by the jambs on each side.

Main hall

41 ¹Then he brought me to the hall of the temple and measured the jambs, six cubits broad on each side.^o ²And the breadth of the entrance was ten cubits; and the sides of the entrance were five cubits on each side; and he measured its length, forty cubits, and its width, twenty cubits.

Most holy place

³Then went into the inner room and measured the jambs of its entrance, two cubits; and the entrance, six cubits; and the side-walls^p of the entrance, seven cubits on each side.^q ⁴And he measured its length, twenty cubits, and its breadth, twenty cubits, before the hall of the temple. And he said to me, This is the most holy place.

Interior decorations of the temple

^{15b}And the hall of the temple, and the inner room and its porch were paneled,^r ¹⁶and the windows latticed^s and covered.^t And the galleries round about on their three stories, opposite the threshold, were ceiled with wood round about, from the ground up to the windows,^u ¹⁷and from the

§ 144 Cf. the description and plan of Solomon's temple, § 138. The plan below will indicate the general form of Ezek.'s temple.

¹ 40⁴⁸ Following the fuller and obviously better preserved Gk. reading.

^m 40⁴⁹ So Gk. Heb., *eleven*.

ⁿ 40⁴⁹ Again the Gk. has retained the original reading.

^o 41¹ So Gk. A scribe has added to the Heb., *the breadth of the tabernacle*.

^p 41³ So Gk.

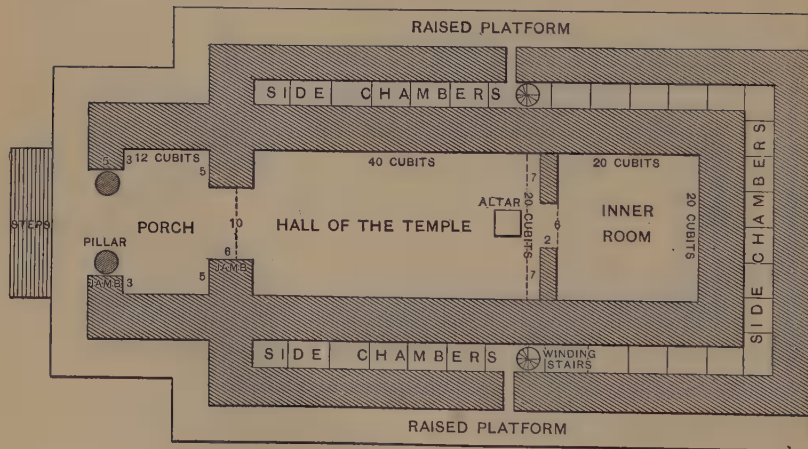
^q 41³ This last clause is preserved only in the Gk.

^r 41^{15b} Following the Gk. supported by the context.

^s 41¹⁶ An exceedingly doubtful vs., cf. I Kgs. 6⁴, 15, 7⁴.

^t 41¹⁶ Transferring this clause from the end of the vs. where it interrupts the sense.

^u 41¹⁶ Or, *roof*, changing the text slightly.



Ezekiel's Code

door to the inner room and without. And on all the wall round about within and without were drawings^v ¹⁸and carved cherubim and palm-trees, there being a palm-tree between every two cherubim. And each cherub had two faces; ¹⁹the face of a man turned toward the palm-tree on the one side, and the face of a young lion turned toward the palm-tree on the other side; they were carved on all the temple round about. ²⁰From the ground to the top of the door were carved cherubim and palm-trees. The wall of the hall of the temple had^w ²¹pillasters. And before the holy place was something that looked like ²²an altar of wood,^x three cubits high, and two cubits in thickness and two cubits in width; and its corners, and its base and walls were of wood. And he said to me, This is the table that stands^a before Jehovah. ²³And the base of the temple and the holy place had two doors. ²⁴And each door had turning leaves; two for each door. ²⁵Cherubim and palm-trees were carved on them, as on the walls;^b and there was a threshold^c in front of the porch without. ²⁶And there were closed windows and palm-trees on both sides of the porch; thus were the side-chambers of the temple and the thresholds.

§ 145. The Side-Chambers, Ezek. 41^{6-15a}*Ezekiel's Code*

Ezek. 41 ⁵Then he measured the thickness of the wall of the temple, six cubits; and the width of the side-chambers, four cubits, round about the temple on every side. ⁶And the side-chambers were in three stories, one above another, and thirty in each story; and there were abatements all around the walls of the temple that the side-chambers might be fastened to them and not in the walls of the temple. ⁷And the side-chambers became wider as they went up higher and higher,^d for the temple grew narrower higher and higher up round about the temple;^e and there was an ascent^f from the lowest story to the highest by the middle story. ⁸And I also saw that the temple had a raised platform round about; the foundations of the side-chambers were a full reed in height, that is, six great cubits. ⁹The thickness of the outer wall of the side-chambers, was five cubits; and the space left between the side-chambers that belonged to the temple ¹⁰and the outer chambers was twenty^g cubits wide round about the temple on each side. ¹¹And the doors of the side-chambers were toward the open space, one door toward

Plan
and di-
men-
sions

^v 41¹⁷ Lit., *measured*.

^w 41²⁰ The Heb. repeats, *hall of the temple*.

^x 41²² So Gk.

^a 41²² Restoring the word demanded by the context and suggested by the Gk.

^b 41²⁵ A scribe has added to make the sense clear, *on the doors of the hall of the temple*.

^c 41²⁵ The meaning of this word is doubtful; *projecting roof* and *cornice* has been suggested.

^d 41⁷ This vs. is very doubtful. The above translation is based upon two plausible emendations. The idea clearly is that the upper chambers were larger because the outer walls of the temple receded.

^e 41⁷ The Heb. adds, *therefore there was width to the temple above*.

^f 41⁷ Correcting a slight error in the Heb.

^g 41¹⁰ Or *twenty-five cubits*, cf. ¹¹.

Ezekiel's Code

the north and another door toward the south; and the width of the open space of the platform was five cubits round about.

Dimensions of the western building and temple ¹²And the building that faced the enclosure on the west was seventy cubits wide; and the wall of the building was five cubits thick round about, and its length ninety cubits. ¹³So he measured the temple, a hundred cubits long; and the enclosure, and the building, with its walls, a hundred cubits long; ¹⁴also the width of the front of the temple, with the eastern enclosure was one hundred cubits. ^{15a}And he measured the length of the building in front of the rear enclosure, its galleries on both sides, one hundred cubits.

§ 146. Chambers and Kitchens for the Priests, Ezek. 42¹⁻¹⁴, 46¹⁹⁻²⁴*Ezekiel's Code*

Plan and dimensions ¹Ezek. 42 ¹Then he brought me forth into the outer court on the north; and he brought me to the chamber which faced the enclosure and the building on the north. ²One hundred cubits was its length on the north side,^h and the width was fifty cubits. ³Opposite the space of twenty cubitsⁱ which belonged to the inner court, and the raised platform which belonged to the outer court, was a gallery on each side in three tiers. ⁴And in front of the chambers was a passage-way to the inner court, ten cubits wide and one hundred^j cubits long; and their doors were on the north. ⁵The upper chambers were smaller, for the galleries took away from these, more than from the lower and the middle chambers in the building; ⁶that is, they were in three stories, and had no pillars like the pillars of the outer courts; therefore the upper was smaller than the lowest and middle chambers. ⁷And the outer wall by the side of the chambers along the outer court in front of the chambers was fifty cubits long; ⁸that is, the length of the chambers in the outer court was fifty cubits, while in front of it was one hundred cubits. ⁹Below these chambers was the entry on the east side, as one approached them from the outer court; ¹⁰at the beginning^k of the outer wall on the south, in front of the enclosure and the building, were chambers, ¹¹with the passage-way before them; they were similar^l to the chambers on the north; of the same length and width, the same exits and arrangements, and with their doors on the south. ¹²There was a door at the beginning of the passage-way, directly in front of the wall on the east, as one approached them.

Their use

¹³Then said he to me, the north and south chambers are the sacred chambers, where the priests who approach Jehovah shall eat the most holy things; there they shall deposit the most holy things, the cereal-offering, and the sin-offering, and the guilt-offering, for the place is holy.^m

§ 146 Cf. the general plan p. 164. It is impossible to determine definitely from the description just what was the plan and arrangement of these chambers of the priests.

^h 42² Slightly correcting the Heb.

ⁱ 42³ Cf. 41¹⁰.

^j 42⁴ So Gk. Heb., *one*.

^k 42¹⁰ Following a slightly corrected text, cf. 12.

^l 42¹¹ Slightly emending the text.

^m 42¹³ The following vs. 14 is evidently a scribal insertion from 44¹⁹.

Ezekiel's Code

46 ¹⁹Then he brought me through the entry, which was at the side of the gate, into the priests' sacred chamber on the north; and there was a place on the extreme western side. ²⁰And he said to me, This is the place where the priests shall boil the guilt-offering and the sin-offering, and bake the cereal-offering, so as not to bring them out into the outer court, thereby making the people sacred.ⁿ ²¹Then he brought me into the outer court, and made me pass by the four corners of the court; and there in each corner of the court was a court. ²²In the four corners of the court there were small^o courts forty cubits long and thirty cubits wide; these four in the corners were of the same size. ²³And there was a row of stones^p round about each of the four, and places for boiling were constructed beneath the row of stones round about. ²⁴Then he said to me, These are the houses where the ministers of the temple shall boil the sacrifice of the people.

Kitchens
for the
priests
and
people

§ 147. Sanctity of the Temple and Land Consecrated by Jehovah's Presence, Ezek. 42¹⁵-43¹²

Ezekiel's Code

Ezek. 42 ¹⁵Having finished the measurement of the inner temple he brought me by way of the east gate, and measured it round about. ¹⁶He measured on the east side five hundred cubits,^q with the measuring reed round about. ¹⁷He measured on the north side five hundred cubits^r by the measuring reed round about. ¹⁸He measured on the south side five hundred cubits by the measuring reed. ¹⁹Then he turned to the west side and measured five hundred cubits by the measuring reed. ²⁰He measured it on the four sides; and^s it had a wall round about, five hundred cubits in length and five hundred cubits in width, to separate between the sacred and the common.

Total
area of
the
temple
pre-
cincts

43 ¹Then he brought me to the east gate. ²And behold the glory of the God of Israel came from the east; and his voice was like the sound of many waters; and the earth shone with his glory. ³And the vision which I saw was like^t that which I saw when he^u came to destroy the city; and the visions were like that which I saw by the River Chebar; and I fell on my face. ⁴Then the glory of Jehovah came into the temple by the east gate. ⁵And the Spirit took me up, and brought me into the inner court; and, behold, the glory of Jehovah filled the temple.

Vision
of Je-
hovah

ⁿ 46²⁰ The belief that contact with sacred things rendered those touched also sacred and therefore unfit for certain ordinary occupations was one of the fundamental beliefs of Semitic antiquity, cf. 42¹⁻¹³, 44¹⁹, Lev. 6^{18, 27}.

^o 46²² So Gk. and Syr. The Heb. text is doubtful; possibly it may be rendered *inclosed*.

^p 46²³ Or possibly, *colonnade*.

§ 147 This section reveals the religious purpose which actuated Ezek. in developing this elaborate description of the temple.

^q 42¹⁶ So Gk. Heb., *reeds*.

^r 42¹⁷ Heb., *reeds*, but this is clearly due to a scribal error, cf. the plan and the data in 40^{13, 15, 19, 33, 47}. The same error is repeated in 18, 19.

^s 42²⁰ So Gk. and Syr. The Heb. omits the *and*.

^t 43³ Following the Gk.

^u 43³ Heb., *I*, but the context demands *he*, cf. 1 and 10.

Ezekiel's Code

Temple
sancti-
fied by
Jehovah's
presence

⁶Then I heard one speaking to me from the temple, as One stood by me. ⁷And he said to me, O man, this is the place of my throne, and the place for the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the Israelites forever. And the house of Israel, they and their kings, shall no more defile my holy name^v with their idolatry^w and with the corpses of their kings⁸ by placing their thresholds by my threshold, and their door-posts beside my door-post, with only a wall between me and them, thus defiling my holy name by the abominations which they have committed; therefore I have destroyed them in mine anger. ⁹Now let them put away their idolatry, and the corpses of their kings, far from me, that I may dwell in the midst of them forever.

Eze-
kiel's
com-
mission

¹⁰Do thou, O man, show the house of Israel the temple, its appearance and its pattern,^x ¹¹that they may be ashamed of all that they have done, describe to them the temple and its construction, its exits and its entrances and its form, and make known to them all its ordinances and laws; and write it down in their sight, that they may take heed to perform all its forms and ordinances. ¹²This is the law of the temple: on the top of the mountain its whole territory shall be sacred. Behold, this is the law of the temple.

B

SACRED OFFICIALS

I

IN THE PRE-EXILIC HEBREW STATE

§ 148. Call of the Tribe of Levi, Ex. 32²⁵⁻²⁹, Dt. 10⁸*Primitive Codes*

Zeal
of the
Levites
and its
reward

Ex. 32 ²⁵Now when Moses saw that the people had thrown off all restraint (since Aaron had given them the reins, to become an object of derision

^v 43⁷ The Heb. adds, *in the high place*.

^w 43⁷ Heb., *whoredom*.

^x 43¹⁰, ¹¹ Reconstructing the obviously corrupt Heb. with the aid of the Gk.

Sacred Officials in the Pre-exilic Hebrew State.—According to the most primitive Semitic thought and usage the head of the family was also its priest. As society became more complex, the chief priest of the tribe was the sheik, and of the nation the king. Thus the earliest rulers of the city states of ancient Babylonia and Assyria were still the heads of the national religion, and as such were subject to certain ceremonial restrictions, as for example the refraining from certain acts on the seventh day. Among the Egyptians, the Ethiopians and the Sabeans the king was also the chief priest of the nation. Many of the more modern illustrations of the same institution might be cited; the Mikado of Japan is perhaps the most familiar example.

The original idea underlying these wide-spread institutions seems to have been that the god or gods chose certain men to represent them. The archaic Babylonian sign for king pictures the hand of the god resting upon the head of the man thus chosen and commissioned.

Primitive Codes

among their enemies), ²⁶Moses stood in the gate of the camp and said, Who-ever belongeth to Jehovah, come to me. And all the sons of Levi came together to him. ²⁷Then he said to them, Thus saith Jehovah the God of Israel, 'Let each man gird his sword on his thigh, and pass back and forth from gate to gate in the camp, and let each man kill his brother, and each man his friend, and each man his kinsman.' ²⁸And the sons of Levi did according to the injunction of Moses, and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. ²⁹And Moses said, Consecrate yourselves to-day to the service of Jehovah (for every man was against his son and against his brother) that he may now bestow a blessing upon you.

Sometimes the primitive priest-king was conceived of as related to the gods; sometimes the bond or kinship was thought of as established by contact with the blood of the sacrificial animal which he slew in behalf of the tribe or nation. The same rite of anointing with oil (probably symbolizing the fat of the sacrifice) was employed in consecrating both king and priest. Thus the idea of the Messiah, the anointed, who represented both the god and the nation, was innate in earlier Semitic thought.

Hebrew history furnishes many suggestions regarding the origin of the priesthood. Even down to the days of the exile, the head of the family performed the sacrifice, cf. § 140. Gideon offers a burnt-offering on the altar which he rears, Judg. 6²⁶. Saul on the battle-field builds an altar on which the warriors slay their booty, I Sam. 14^{34, 35}. Only the stricter ceremonialism of a later age condemned his offering a burnt-offering on the eve of battle, I Sam. 10⁹. King Solomon sacrificed as the chief priest of the nation at the dedication of the temple, I Kgs. 8⁵, 62-64. Three times each year he also offered the sacrifice in behalf of the nation, I Kgs. 9⁵.

In time, however, the ceremonial and other restrictions placed upon the chief priest of the nation limited the free exercise of the kingly functions. Among some early peoples the chief ruler was shorn of all real military and civil power, and became only the head of the national cult. Other kings, like David and Solomon, appointed certain royal priests and conferred upon them the priestly functions which originally belonged to the head of the nation. Priests like Zadok, and those appointed by Jeroboam I of Northern Israel at the royal sanctuaries of Dan and Bethel, were officers of the king and undoubtedly at first were supported by royal revenues. Thus arose in Israel, as among other Semitic peoples, the distinct class of priests whose duty it was to attend to the details of the sacrificial ritual.

§ 148 The origin and functions of the sons of Levi appear to have been somewhat similar and yet different from those of the priests of the royal sanctuaries. The references to the sons of Levi in the earliest sources are unfortunately rare. The ancient oracle in Gen. 49⁵⁻⁷ speaks in condemnation of some act of vengeance committed by them, because *their anger was fierce and their wrath cruel*. The consequence was that *they were divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel*.

The act thus indicated is probably the basis of the story in Gen. 34, cf. Vol. I § 41. As in Gen. 49, the sons of Simeon are associated with those of Levi. The deed which elicited the rebuke attributed to Jacob, 34³⁰, was their pitiless zeal in slaying the Canaanites with whom their clansmen had just made a close alliance. Their motive was probably that *jealousy for Jehovah*, which would tolerate no alliances with heathen peoples—the same jealousy that inspired Elijah in later times. A similar spirit is revealed in the Northern Israelitish account of their bloody zeal in slaying their idolatrous kinsmen, cf. above. The story comes from a period when the prophetic conscience had been aroused to condemn the golden calves, long regarded as legitimate by the Northern Israelites; but it is only one of several illustrations of their devotion to the religion of Jehovah. This zeal was probably derived from their great clansman Moses. It naturally explains why they early suffered such a great disaster at the hands of the incensed Canaanites that the few who survived were scattered and went forth to find homes and a precarious existence among the other Hebrew tribes. Their jealousy for Jehovah, their relationship to the great leader Moses, and the fact that they had no tribal home nor unity also furnish a probable explanation of why they early became attached to the various shrines throughout the land of Israel.

The ancient story in Judg. 17 and 18 furnishes a vivid and almost contemporary picture of this process. Micah the Ephraimite, having established a family sanctuary with ephod and oracle, first appointed his son as its priest. But when a wandering Levite came by chance from Bethlehem in Judah, Micah at once engaged him, by the payment of a definite sum each year, to stay and be a *father and priest* to the Ephraimite household, 17¹⁰. Later the Danites stole the priest and paraphernalia of the shrine and so this Levite, Jonathan the grandson of Moses, 18³⁰, became the head of the priesthood of the famous sanctuary at Dan.

Thus it would appear that in this natural way the sons of Levi, the scattered clansmen of Moses, became the guardians of many of Jehovah's oracles and local shrines. It was also natural that in time the title, *son of Levi*, should be applied to all who belong to this class, whatever may have been their ancestry, so that like the terms, *sons of the prophets* or *sons of Korah*, it simply designated the members of a caste or guild.

Deuteronomic Codes

Conse-
cration
of the
Levites

Dt. 10 ⁸At that time^a Jehovah set apart the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, to stand before Jehovah to minister to him,^b and to bless in his name, even to the present day.

§ 149. **Duties of the Sons of Levi**, Dt. 33^{8a}, ¹⁰, 21^{5b} [18⁵], 17⁸⁻¹³, 31²⁵, ²⁶,
24⁸, 26¹⁻⁴, 20²⁻⁴

Primitive Codes

To ren-
der de-
cisions
and
offer
sacri-
fices

Dt. 33 ^{8a}Of Levi Moses said,

Thy Thummim and thy Urim^c are for thy holy one.^d
¹⁰They show Jacob thy judgments, *O Jehovah*,
And Israel thy instruction,
They bring to thy nostrils the savor of sacrifice,
And whole burnt-offering to thine altar.

Deuteronomic Codes

To act
as tem-
ple
minis-
ters
To act
as
judges
in the
court
of final
appeal

Dt. 21 ^{5b}Jehovah thy God hath chosen the priests the sons of Levi to minister to him, and to bless in the name of Jehovah. And according to their sentence shall every dispute and case of assault^e be decided.

17 ⁸If a case involving bloodshed or conflicting claims, or the plague of leprosy^f—subjects of dispute within thine own city—be too difficult for thee to decide, then thou shalt set out and go up to the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose; ⁹and thou shalt come to the Levitical priests, and the judge who shall be in office in those days;^g and thou shalt inquire, and they shall make known to thee the judicial decision. ¹⁰And thou shalt act according to the tenor of the sentence, that they shall make known to thee from the place which Jehovah shall choose; and thou shalt do exactly as they direct thee: ¹¹according to the tenor of the instruction which they give thee,

^a Dt. 10⁸ This vs. originally once followed ⁵, which tells of Moses' descent from Horeb with the ten words. It implies the incident recorded in Ex. 20²⁵⁻²⁹ and possibly a fuller account, now lost, of the call of the tribe of Levi at that time, cf. also 18⁵.

^b Dt. 10⁸ *I. e.*, to serve as priests, cf. I Sam. 16²¹.

§ 149 The story of the young Levite, who was employed by Micah the Ephraimite, Judg. 17, 18, as well as the references in I Sam. to the activity of Eli and his sons, would seem to indicate that originally the sons of Levi were simply the guardians of the sacred objects like the ark and the Urim and Thummim and, later, of the local shrines; and that the sacrifices were slain by the individual offerers or by the heads of the family or tribe, or by a seer like Samuel, I Sam. 9¹³. As guardians of the sacred objects, the Levites also became the interpreters of the divine oracles and therefore judges. Their functions thus appear from the first to have been somewhat different from those of the sons of Zadok to whom Solomon in time delegated his rights and duties as chief priest of the nation; although in early times the distinction between the seer and Levite and royal priest were not very clearly defined.

^c Dt. 33^{8a} The meaning of the vs. is obscure. The *Thummim* and *Urim*, always written elsewhere *Urim* and *Thummim*, Ex. 28³⁰, Lev. 8⁸, Ezra 2⁶³ and I Sam. 14⁴¹ were used in determining the lot. The two words apparently mean, *perfections* and *lights*. What the objects were and how they were used is only a matter of conjecture. From I Sam. 14^{41, 42}, it may perhaps be inferred that they were stones and that the way they fell decided the lot.

^d Dt. 33^{8a} The reference appears to be to the tribe of Levi and their fidelity, possibly at the occasion recorded in Ex. 32²⁵⁻²⁹, although the subsequent context has led some scholars to maintain that Moses is intended.

^e Dt. 21⁸ Lit., *stroke*. This statement is interjected into the midst of the law regarding an undetected murder, in the ceremonial purification of which the Levitical priests also participate.

^f Dt. 17⁸ Lit., *If there arise a case too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke*.

^g Dt. 17⁹ Cf. note § 47.

Deuteronomic Codes

and according to the decision which they shall impart to thee, shalt thou do, without departing from the sentence which they shall make known to thee, either to the right or to the left. ¹²But should a man be so presumptuous as not to heed the decision of the priest who standeth there before Jehovah thy God, or of the judge, that man shall die; thus thou shalt put away the evil from Israel, ¹³in order that all the people may heed and fear, and never again act presumptuously.

²⁴ ⁸Guard carefully against the plague of leprosy in that thou faithfully observe and follow all the directions which the Levitical priests give you. According to the commands which I gave them shall ye carefully do.

²⁶ ¹When thou shalt come into the land which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee as an inheritance, and shalt possess it, and dwell therein, ²thou shalt take a part of the first of all the fruit of the ground, which thou shalt bring in from thy land that Jehovah thy God giveth thee; and thou shalt put it in a basket, and thou shalt go to the place in which Jehovah thy God shall choose to have his name dwell. ³And thou shalt come to the priest who shall be officiating in those days, and say to him, I declare this day to Jehovah thy God, that I have come to the land which Jehovah promised by oath to our fathers to give us. ⁴Then the priest shall take the basket out of thy hand, and set it down before the altar of Jehovah thy God.

²⁰ ²When ye draw near to offer battle, the priest^h shall approach and speak to the people ³and say to them, Hear O Israel, ye are drawing near this day to fight against your enemies; do not lose heart, fear not, nor tremble, neither be afraid because of them; ⁴for Jehovah your God is going with you to fight for you against your enemies in order to deliver you.

§ 150. Prohibition Against the Levites Holding Property, Dt. 18^{1a, b, 2} [10⁹]*Deuteronomic Codes*

Dt. 18 ^{1a, b}The Levitical priests, even all the tribe of Levi, shall have no portion nor inheritance with Israel. ²And they shall have no inheritance among their kinsmen; Jehovah is their inheritance, as he hath declared to them.¹

^h Dt. 20² As has already been noted, § 42, war was regarded by the Hebrews as a sacrament. Sacrifices were also offered before the battle, I Sam. 7^{9, 10}, 13^{9, 10}. The common idiom for declaring war was to *consecrate a war*, Is. 13³, Mi. 3³, Jer. 6⁴, 22⁷. The presence of the priests is therefore assured, although the present custom is mentioned nowhere else.

§ 150 This law was doubtless intended to anticipate exactions by the priestly judges and to prevent the alienation of temple property for private ends.

¹ Dt. 18² The passage here referred to is not found in the O.T. although the same idea is repeatedly expressed, cf. Josh. 13^{14, 33}, 18⁷, Nu. 18^{10b}, Ezek. 44²⁸.

§ 151. Means of Support of the Sons of Levi, Dt. 18^{1a}, c. 3-8, 14²², 23, 27, 12¹⁹, 16¹⁰⁻¹⁴, 14²⁸, 29 [12¹¹, 12, 17, 18]

Deuteronomic Codes

Certain parts of the offerings

Dt. 18^{1a}, cThe Levitical priests, even all the tribe of Levi, shall eat the offerings made by fire to Jehovah,^j and of that which belongeth to him. ³And this shall be the priests' due from the people, from those who offer a sacrifice whether it be ox or sheep: they shall give to the priests the shoulder and the two cheeks and the stomach. ⁴The firstfruits of thy grain, of thy new wine, and of thine oil, and the first of the fleece of thy sheep thou shalt give him; ⁵for Jehovah thy God hath chosen him and his sons out of all thy tribes, to stand to minister in the name of Jehovah forever.

Rights of priests from local sanctuaries

⁶And if a Levite cometh from any of thy towns^k in all Israel, where he resideth, and cometh with a whole-hearted desire^l to the place which Jehovah shall choose; ⁷then he shall minister in the name of Jehovah his God, as do all his brethren the Levites, who serve Jehovah there. ⁸They shall have like portions to eat,^m besides that which cometh from the sale of his patrimony.

Portions of the annual tithe

14²²Of all the produce of thy seed thou shalt take a tenth of all that groweth in the field each year; ²³and before Jehovah thy God, in the place in which he shall choose to have his name dwell thou shalt eat the tithe of thy grain, of thy new wine, and of thine oil, and of the first-born of thy herd and of thy flock; that thou mayst learn to fear Jehovah thy God always. ²⁷Also thou shalt not forget the Levite who dwelleth within thy town, for he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee. 12¹⁹Take heed not to forget the Levite as long as thou livest in thy land.

A share in the feast of weeks

16¹⁰Thou shalt keep the feast of weeks to Jehovah thy God according to the measure of the voluntary offerings which thy hand shall present in proportion as Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee. ¹¹Thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy male and female slaves, and the Levite who dwelleth in thy town, and the resident alien, the fatherless and the widow, who live with thee, shall rejoice before Jehovah, in the place where Jehovah thy God shall choose to have his name dwell. ¹²And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt; and thou shalt observe and do these statutes.

§ 151 The income of the pre-exilic Levitical priests appears to have been very precarious, depending upon the wealth and importance of the shrine with which they were connected, and the generosity of the individual offerers. Dt. 18⁸ implies that certain of them had family possessions, but the passage is not entirely clear, and it is definitely stated elsewhere that the Levites were to have no inheritance, § 160. They are repeatedly classed with the resident alien, the fatherless, and the widow. As their numbers increased, their necessities probably compelled some of them to take up other occupations. In the Jewish community which Nehemiah found in Palestine, still living under the Deuteronomic law, the Levites had not received their portions and had gone to work in the fields, Neh. 13¹⁰. It was the uncertainty, however, and their inability to collect their dues, rather than the insufficiency, which made the support of the pre-exilic priests so unsatisfactory.

^j Dt. 18¹ *I. e.*, all offerings, a part of which was burnt as Jehovah's portion. The term occurs sixty-two times in the priestly and only once in the Deuteronomic codes.

^k Dt. 18⁶ *Lit., gates.*

^l Dt. 18⁶ *Lit., with all the desire of his soul.*

^m Dt. 18⁸⁻⁹ This provision was for the ministers of the ancient shrines, outside Jerusalem, which had been declared illegal by the Deuteronomic law. Second Kgs. 23⁸ states that Josiah destroyed all these high places in Judah and brought their priests to Jerusalem. Vs. ⁹ adds, however, that the priests of the high places did not come up to the altar of Jehovah in Jerusalem, but ate unleavened bread among their kinsmen.

Deuteronomic Codes

¹³Thou shalt keep the feast of tabernacles seven days, after thou hast gathered in the output of thy threshing-floor and thy wine-press. ¹⁴And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, together with thy son and thy daughter, and thy male and female slaves, and the Levite, the resident alien, the fatherless, and the widow who live with thee. In the feast of tabernacles

¹⁴ ²⁸At the end of every three years thou shalt bring out all the tithe of thine increase in that year and shalt deposit it within thy city, ²⁹that the Levite, because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the resident alien, the fatherless, and the widow, who are in thy city, may come, and eat and be satisfied in order that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in all the work to which thou puttest thy hand. Part of the triennial tithe

§ 152. Slaves of the Sanctuary, Josh. 9²⁶, ²⁷*Primitive Codes*

Josh. 9 ²⁶Joshua saved the Gibeonites from the hand of the Israelites so that they did not slay them. ²⁷And Joshua made them at that time hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the congregation, and for the altar of Jehovah (as they are to this day) in the place which he should choose. Fate of the Gibeonites

II

SACRED OFFICIALS IN EZEKIEL'S HIERARCHY

§ 153. Duties of the Levites and Priests, Ezek. 44

Ezekiel's Code

Ezek. 44 ¹Then he took me back to the outer eastern gate of the sanctuary, and it was closed. ²Then he^a said to me, This gate shall remain closed; it shall not be opened, and none shall enter by it; for Jehovah the God of Israel hath entered by it, therefore it shall remain closed. ³As for the prince he may sit therein^b to eat bread in the presence of Jehovah; he shall enter by the vestibule of the gate, and by the same way shall he go out. Sanctity of the eastern gate

§ 152 Captives of war were in ancient times dedicated to the Deity in gratitude for the victories gained. Upon them fell the menial services in the sanctuaries. In Babylon and Egypt they also cultivated the lands or herded the flocks belonging to the temples. The Chronicler in his list of the returned refers to a class called the *nethinim* or temple slaves. Ezek., however, reversed the ancient usage, cf. § 153. For the setting of the above passage from Josh. cf. Vol. I, § 113.

§ 153 Ezekiel not only adopts many of the existing regulations regarding the priesthood, but he also introduces not a few innovations which reappear in the later priestly codes. He provides that the foreign slaves be kept out of the sanctuary. Their former duties he assigns to the Levites, who had ministered before Josiah's reformation at the high places outside Jerusalem. He knows nothing about the sons of Aaron, but he distinctly stipulates that the sons of Zadok, the Levitical priests of the Jerusalem temple, shall perform the more important acts of sacrifice.

Ezekiel also defines more rigorously the ceremonial limitations of the priesthood and directs that they have an increased and definite portion of the offering. Thus at every point his enactments mark the transition from the earlier Deuteronomic to the more complex later priestly regulations.

^a 44² The Heb. adds, *Jehovah*.

^b 44³ So Gk., Syr., and Lat. The Heb. repeats, *prince*.

Ezekiel's Code

Of the
entire
temple

⁴Then he took me by way of the north gate to the front of the temple; and I looked and behold, the glory of Jehovah filled the temple. And I fell on my face. ⁵And Jehovah said to me, O man, give heed, see with thine eyes and hear with thine ears all that I tell thee regarding the regulations of the temple of Jehovah and all its laws,^c and observe carefully how to enter the temple by all of the exits of the sanctuary. ⁶Say to the rebellious, even to the house of Israel, 'Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, "Enough of all your abominations, O house of Israel, ⁷in that ye have brought foreigners, neither consecrated in heart nor flesh,^d to be in my sanctuary to profane it,^e when ye offered me bread, fat and blood; thus ye^f have broken my covenant, with^g all your abominations! ⁸And ye have not taken charge of my holy things but ye have set them as keepers^h in charge of my sanctuary."

Duties
of the
Leviti-
cal
priests
from
the an-
cient
sanct-
uaries

⁹Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, 'No foreigner, consecrated neither in heart nor flesh,ⁱ of all the foreigners who are among the Israelites, shall enter my sanctuary. ¹⁰But those Levites who went far from me, when Israel went astray, who went astray from me after their idols,^j shall bear their guilt. ¹¹Yet they shall be ministers in my sanctuary, having oversight at the gates of the temple, and ministering in the temple, they shall slay the burnt-offering and the sacrifice for the people, and they shall stand before them and minister to them. ¹²Since they were wont to minister to them before their idols, and were a stumbling-block of iniquity to the house of Israel; therefore I have taken a solemn oath^k against them,' is the oracle of the Lord Jehovah, 'and they shall bear their guilt. ¹³And they shall not approach me to act as priests to me, so as to come near any of my sacred things, or to those which are most sacred; but they shall bear their shame and the punishment for the abominations which they have committed; ¹⁴I will make them responsible for the care of the temple, for all its service, and for all that shall be done therein.

Duties
of the
sons of
Zadok

¹⁵But the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok,^l who took charge of my sanctuary when the Israelites went astray from me, shall come near to me to minister to me, and they shall stand before me to offer to me fat and blood,' is the oracle of the Lord Jehovah. ¹⁶'They shall enter my sanctuary, and they shall approach near to my table to minister to me, and they shall keep my charge. ¹⁷When they enter the gates of the inner court, they shall wear linen garments, but they shall have on no wool while they are officiating in the gates of the inner court and in the temple.^m ¹⁸They shall have linen

^c 44⁵ *I. e.*, the proper rules for entering the temple with offerings.

^d 44⁷ *Lit.*, *uncircumcised*, *i. e.*, with no true religion.

^e 44⁷ The Heb. adds, but the Gk. omits, *my temple*.

^f 44⁷ So Gk., Syr. and Lat. Heb., *they*.

^g 44⁷ So Gk. Heb., *to*.

^h 44⁸ So Gk. The reference is to foreign attendants at the pre-exilic temple, cf. § 152, Ezra 8²⁰, Neh. 7⁶⁰.

ⁱ 44⁹ This is the prototype of the Greek tablet found on the temple arch in 1870 by M. Clermont-Ganneau, which reads, *No stranger shall come within the balustrade and enclosure around the temple; whoever is caught will be himself responsible for his death, which will follow*.

^j 44¹⁰ *I. e.*, the priests of the local shrines outside Jerusalem.

^k 44¹² *Lit.*, *lifted up my hand* (in taking the oath).

^l 44¹⁵ The Zadok who succeeded Abiathar as the head of the Jerusalem priesthood in the days of Solomon, I Kgs. 2²⁷, 3⁵.

^m 44¹⁷ Slightly correcting the Heb.

Ezekiel's Code

turbans upon their heads and linen breeches on their loins; they shall not gird themselves with anything that causeth sweat.ⁿ ¹⁹But when they go forth to the outer court to the people,^o they shall put off the garments in which they were officiating, and lay them in the sacred chambers; and they shall put on other garments, that they may not sanctify the people^p with their garments. ²⁰Neither shall they shave their heads, nor suffer their hair to grow long; they shall cut off their hair. ²¹None of the priests shall drink wine, when they enter the inner court. ²²Neither shall they marry a widow nor a divorced woman, but only Israelitish virgins or the widow of a priest.

²³And they shall teach my people the difference between the sacred and the common, and instruct them how to discern between the unclean and the clean. ²⁴And in a controversy they shall act as judges, judging it according to my ordinances. And they shall keep my laws and my statutes in all my appointed feasts; and they shall maintain the sanctity of my sabbaths. As guardians of the laws and ritual

²⁵And they shall not approach a dead person to defile themselves; except in the case of a father, or a mother, or a son, or a daughter, or brother, or unmarried sister.^q ²⁶And after his defilement,^r a priest shall be given seven days. ²⁷And on the day that he goeth into the inner court,^s to minister in the sanctuary, he shall offer his sin-offering,^t is the oracle of the Lord Jehovah. Ceremonial purity

²⁸And they shall have no^t inheritance; I am their inheritance; and ye shall give them no possession in Israel; I am their possession. ²⁹They shall eat the cereal-offering, and the sin-offering, and the guilt-offering; and every devoted thing^u in Israel shall be theirs. ³⁰And the best of all the firstfruits of every thing, and every contribution of every thing, of all your contributions, shall belong to the priest; ye shall also give to the priests the best of your dough, that a blessing may rest on thy household. ³¹The priests shall not eat of any thing that dieth a natural death or hath been mangled, whether it be bird or beast. Means of support

ⁿ 44¹⁸ This last clause may be secondary. The meaning of the Heb. is not certain.

^o 44¹⁹ So Gk. The Heb. repeats, *to the court*.

^p 44¹⁹ The idea that sanctity, as well as ceremonial uncleanness, could be communicated by contact was firmly fixed in the Heb. mind. Cf. Lev. 6¹⁸, 27, Josh 7¹².

^q 44²⁵ The reason was probably to prevent interruptions in the sacrificial service.

^r 44²⁶ So Syr. In the Heb. a scribe has confused two similar words, so that the vs. now begins, *after he is cleansed*.

^s 44²⁷ So Gk. A Heb. scribe has added by mistake, *into the sanctuary*.

^t 44²⁸ So Lat. and the demands of the context. The negative has been lost in the Heb.

^u 44²⁹ *I. e.*, those things placed under the ban or dedicated to Jehovah.

§ 154. Duties of the Princes, Ezek. 45^{9-17, 21-25}, 46¹⁻¹⁵

Ezekiel's Code

To regulate weights and measures

Ezek. 45 ⁹Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Enough, O princes of Israel! Put away violence and oppression, and practice justice and righteousness! Free my people from your robberies, is the oracle of the Lord Jehovah. ¹⁰Ye shall have just balances, and a just ephah, and a just bath. ¹¹The ephah^v and the bath^w shall be of one measure; the bath shall contain the tenth part of a homer, and the ephah the tenth part of a homer; the homer shall be the standard of measurement. ¹²And the shekel shall be twenty gerahs; five shekels shall be valued as five shekels^x, and ten as ten, and your maneh shall be fifty shekels.

To provide material for sacrifices

¹³This is the contribution that ye shall offer: the sixth part of an ephah out of every homer of wheat; and ye shall give the sixth part of an ephah out of every homer of barley; ¹⁴and the fixed proportion of oil,^a shall be the tenth part of a bath out of every cor, the cor being ten baths;^b ¹⁵and one lamb out of a flock of two hundred, from all the families^c of Israel, as a cereal-offering, and a burnt-offering, and peace-offerings, to make atonement for them, saith the Lord Jehovah. ¹⁶All the people of the land shall contribute to this special gift for the prince in Israel. ¹⁷And it shall be the prince's part to give the burnt-offerings, and the cereal-offerings, and the libations at the feasts, and on the new moons, and on the sabbaths, at all the feast days of the house of Israel: he shall prepare the sin-offering, and the cereal-offering, and the burnt-offering, and the peace-offerings, to make atonement for the house of Israel.

Also for the stated offerings

²¹In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, ye shall observe the feast^d of the passover; seven days unleavened bread shall be eaten. ²²On that day the prince shall provide for himself and for all the people of the land a bullock as a sin-offering; ²³and during the seven days of the feast he shall provide a burnt-offering for Jehovah, seven bullocks and seven rams without blemish; and a male goat daily as a sin-offering. ²⁴And he shall provide a cereal-offering, an ephah to a bullock, and an ephah to a ram, and of oil a hin to an ephah. ²⁵In the seventh month, on the fifteenth day of the month, at the feast, shall he do the same during the seven days, for the sin-offering, the burnt-offering, the cereal-offering, and for the oil.

Offerings for the sabbaths

46 ¹Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, The east gate of the inner court shall be shut during the six working days; but on the sabbath day, and on the day of the new moon it shall be open. ²And the prince shall enter from

§ 154 The Exile, as a matter of fact, and Ezek. by formal enactment reversed the relations between the priesthood and monarchy, so that the Jerusalem priests were no longer merely appendages of the royal court, but the central figures in the state; the chief functions of the prince was simply to provide certain stated offerings in the temple service.

^v 45¹¹ This was a dry measure and contained about 36 or 37 litres, cf. Appendix IX.

^w 45¹¹ The bath was a liquid measure, and contained about 8 gallons or 36 or 37 litres.

^x 45¹¹ So Gk. A

^a 45¹⁴ A scribe has added from Dt. 14, *of the bath of oil*.

^b 45¹⁴ So Gk. The Heb. adds, *a homer, for ten baths are a homer*.

^c 45¹⁵ So Gk. Heb., *from the well-watered*.

^d 45²¹ Transferring the word, *feast*, and slightly correcting the Heb.

Ezekiel's Code

without by the vestibule of the gate, and shall stand by the door-post of the gate; and the priests shall prepare his burnt-offering and his peace-offerings, and he shall worship at the threshold of the gate, and then go out; but the gate shall not be shut until evening. ³And the people of the land shall worship at the door of that gate before Jehovah on the sabbaths and on the new moons. ⁴And the burnt-offering which the prince shall offer to Jehovah on the sabbath day shall be six lambs without blemish and one ram without blemish; ⁵the cereal-offering being an ephah to a ram, and for the lambs as he is able to give, and of oil a hin to an ephah.

⁶And on the day of the new moon it shall be a young bullock without blemish and six lambs, and a ram, without blemish; ⁷and he shall prepare a cereal-offering, an ephah for the bullock, and an ephah for the ram, and for the lambs as he is able, and of oil a hin to an ephah.

⁸And when the prince shall enter, he shall go in by the vestibule of the gate, and he shall go forth by the same way. ⁹But when the people of the land shall come before Jehovah in the feast days, he who enters by the north gate to worship shall go out by the south gate; and he who enters by the south gate shall go out by the north gate; none shall return by the gate at which he came in, but shall go out straight ahead. ¹⁰The prince shall go in with them, when they go in, and go out, when they go forth.

¹¹And on the feast days and the festivals the cereal-offering shall be an ephah to a bullock, and an ephah to a ram, and for the lambs as he is able to give, and of oil a hin to an ephah. ¹²And when the prince shall prepare a voluntary-offering, a burnt-offering or peace-offerings as a voluntary-offering to Jehovah, the east gate shall be opened for him, and he shall present his burnt-offering and his peace-offerings, as he doth on the sabbath day; then he shall go out; and after he has gone out the gate shall be shut.

¹³And he^e shall provide daily a lamb a year old without blemish as a burnt-offering to Jehovah; ^feach morning shall he provide it. ¹⁴And he shall provide as a cereal-offering with it each morning the sixth part of an ephah, and the third part of a hin of oil, to moisten the fine meal, as a cereal-offering to Jehovah by a perpetual ordinance. ¹⁵Thus shall he provide the lamb, and the cereal-offering, and the oil, each morning, as a regular burnt-offering.

^e 46¹³⁻¹⁴ So Gk., Syr., and Lat. The Heb. has in these vss. the second person singular, although in ¹⁵ *they*, is used. The context supports the reading, *he*, throughout.

^f 46¹⁴ So Gk. The Heb. adds, *continually*.

EZEK. 45¹] OFFICIALS IN EZEKIEL'S HIERARCHY

§ 155. Apportionment of the Land to the Temple, Levites, City, Prince, and Tribes, Ezek. 45¹⁻⁸, 46¹⁰⁻¹⁸, 47 [48]

Ezekiel's Code

To the temple and its ministers

Ezek. 45 ¹When ye allot the land as inheritance, ye shall offer as a special gift^g to Jehovah, a sacred portion of the land, five thousand cubits long, and twenty^h thousand cubits wide; it shall be sacred throughout its entire extent. ³And out of this area shalt thou measure off a space twenty-five thousand cubits long and ten thousand cubits wide, and on it shall the sanctuary, the most holy,ⁱ stand. ⁴It is a holy portion of the land; it shall belong to the priests who are the ministers in the sanctuary, who draw near to minister to Jehovah; and it shall be a place for their houses, and an open space for the sanctuary. ²Out of this a square of five hundred cubits shall be

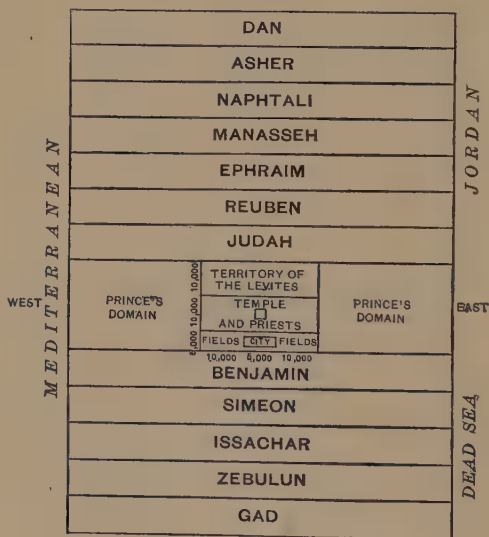
§ 155 The question of the reassignment of the territory of Canaan was a prominent one in the minds of the priestly exiles in Babylonia. As a matter of fact the land about Jerusalem never passed out of the possession of the Jewish survivors of the great catastrophe of 586 B.C. This fact must have been known to Ezek. and his associates. His plan of apportionment, like many other elements in his program, must, therefore, be regarded as an ideal rather than a practical basis for reorganization. It aims concretely to emphasize the necessity of carefully protecting the temple, the abode of the Holy One, from all defiling contact with the outside world. The priests, the Levites, the prince and the different tribes all represent successive ranks of guardians about the sanctuary. Provision is also made for the priests and Levites proportionate to their importance in the new Jewish state.

The accompanying diagram will illustrate Ezek.'s plan of allotment given in 48. Since this chapter simply gives these details, in Ezek.'s repetitious style, it has not been reproduced in the present text.

^g 45¹ Lit., *offer an oblation*.

^h 45¹ So Gk. Heb., *ten*. The standard of measure is not given, but it is in all probability the cubit. The total area would contain between forty and fifty square miles.

ⁱ 45³ Restoring the Heb. with the aid of the Gk. This space corresponded to the common pasture grounds about every ancient Heb. village. Heb., *and a sanctuary for the sanctuary*. Gk., *houses set aside or assigned for their sanctification*.



Ezekiel's Code

for the sanctuary, with an open space fifty cubits wide around it.^j ⁵And a space twenty-five thousand cubits long and ten thousand wide shall belong to the Levites, the ministers of the temple; their possession shall it be for cities in which to dwell.^k

⁶And as the possession of the city, ye shall assign a space five thousand cubits wide, and twenty-five thousand long, beside the sacred reservation; it shall belong to the whole house of Israel. ⁷And the prince shall have the space on both sides of the sacred reservation and the possession of the city, facing the sacred reservation and the possession of the city, on the west and on the east, and of the same length as one of the portions of the tribes, from the west border to the east border ⁸of the land. It shall be his possession in Israel; and the princes^l of Israel shall no more oppress my people, but shall give the land to the house of Israel according to their tribes.

⁴⁶ ¹⁶Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, If the prince make a gift to any of his sons, out of his inheritance,^m it shall belong to his sons; it is their possession by inheritance. ¹⁷But if he make a gift out of his inheritance to one of his servants, it shall be his to the year of release; then it shall revert to the prince; but as for his inheritance, it shall belong to his sons. ¹⁸Moreover the prince shall not take of the people's inheritance so as to deprive them by force of their possession; he shall give an inheritance to his sons out of his own possession, that none of my people be scattered from his possession.

⁴⁷ ¹Then he brought me to the door of the temple and there was water issuing from under the threshold of the temple eastward—the temple faced the east—and the water came downⁿ on the south side of the temple,^o to the south side of the altar. ²Then he brought me out by the way of the north gate, and led me around outside to the eastern outer gate; and there water was flowing on the south side.

³As the man went forth eastward with the line in his hand, he measured a thousand cubits, and he caused me to pass through waters, ankle-deep. ⁴Again he measured a thousand cubits, and caused me to pass through waters, knee-deep. Again he measured a thousand cubits, and caused me to pass through waters, hip-deep. ⁵Afterward he measured a thousand cubits; and it was a river through which I could not pass, for the waters were deep enough to swim in, a river that could not be forded.

⁶And he said to me, Seest thou, O man? Then he brought me back to the bank of the river. ⁷Now when I had returned, there on the bank of the river were very many trees on both sides. ⁸Then he said to me, These waters issue forth toward the eastern region, and shall descend to the Arabah; and they shall go to the Dead Sea into the salt waters;^p which waters shall

^j 45² This vs. evidently belongs here.

^k 45⁵ So Gk. The Heb. makes no sense.

^l 45⁸ So Gk. Heb., *my princes*.

^m 46¹⁶ So Gk. Heb., *it is his inheritance*.

ⁿ 47¹ So Gk., Syr., and Lat. In the Heb. a scribe has added from the first part of the vs., *from under*.

^o 47¹ Ezek. probably has in mind one of the characteristic rivers of Palestine, which, like one branch of the Jordan, flows from its rocky source a full-fledged stream. Also in ancient times a spring issued from the temple mount, cf. *Letter of Aristeas*, and Is. 8⁶.

^p 47⁸ Following a corrected text.

Ezekiel's Code

be made fresh. ⁹Every living creature which swarmeth, in every place whither the river^a cometh, shall live; and the fish shall be very many.^r

¹⁰Fishers shall stand by it from Engedi even to En-eglaim; it shall be a place for the spreading of nets; its^s fish shall be like^t the fish of the Great Sea, exceeding many. ¹¹But its marshes and pools shall not be made fresh; they shall be left for salt.^u ¹²And by the bank of the river on both sides shall grow every kind of tree which furnisheth food; their leaves shall not wither, neither shall their fruit fail; every month they shall bear fresh fruit, for their waters issue from the sanctuary, and their fruit shall be for food and their leaves for healing.

¹³Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, This is the border, whereby ye shall allot the land according to the twelve tribes of Israel.^v ¹⁴Ye shall share it equally, for I swore to give it to your fathers, and this land shall fall to you as your inheritance.

¹⁵And this is the border of the land on the north: From the Great Sea^w by^x Hethlon, to the entrance of^a ¹⁶Hamath, as far as Zedad, Berothah, and Sibraim,^b which is between the border of Damascus and Hamath; and to Hazerenon,^c which is on the border of Hauran; ¹⁷thus the border shall run from the sea to Hazerenon^d, so that the territory of Damascus is on the north on the border of Hamath.^e This is the northern border.

¹⁸On the east: Between Hauran, Damascus and Gilead and the land of Israel, shall be the Jordan; from the northern border to the eastern sea shall ye measure. This is the eastern border.

¹⁹On the south: From Tamar as far as the waters of Meriboth-kadesh, to the brook of Egypt, and to the Great Sea. This is the southern border.

²⁰On the west: The Great Sea from the southern border to a point opposite the entrance of Hamath. This is the western border.

²¹Thus ye shall divide this land among yourselves according to the tribe of Israel. ²²Ye shall allot it as an inheritance for yourselves and the aliens residing among you, who have begotten children among you; and they shall be reckoned with you as the native-born among the Israelites; they shall be assigned a portion with you among the tribes of Israel. ²³And ye shall give the alien his portion in the land in which he dwells, saith the Lord Jehovah.

^a 47⁹ So Gk. Heb., *rivers*.

^r 47⁹ In the Heb. the first part of the vs. is repeated, through a scribal error in the latter part.

^s 47¹⁰ Again following the superior reading of the Gk., Syr. and Lat.

^t 47¹⁰ Following the Syr. in omitting the awkward and very late, *after their kinds*.

^u 47¹¹ *I. e.*, that the natives may there gather salt.

^v 47¹³ A scribe has added the clause, *Joseph two portions*. It interrupts the context. It was probably suggested by 48⁵, ⁶.

^w 47¹⁵ *I. e.*, the Mediterranean.

^x 47¹⁵ *In the direction of* is clearly a gloss in the Heb., for Hethlon is probably to be identified with the present Heitela near the shore of the Great Sea.

^a 47¹⁵ Following the Gk. order.

^b 47¹⁶ The reading and identification of these places are exceedingly doubtful.

^c 47¹⁷ So ¹⁷ and 48¹, Nu. 34⁹. Heb., *Hatticon*.

^d 47¹⁷ Reconstructing the corrupt Heb. with the aid of 48¹.

^e 47¹⁷ The Heb. is obscure. Cornill would emend so as to read, *From Hazar-enon, which is on the border between the territories of Hauran and Damascus; the Jordan is the boundary between Gilead and the land of Israel*.

D

THE POST-EXILIC HIERARCHY

§ 156. Traditions Regarding the Origin of the Hierarchy,
Nu. 3⁵⁻¹⁰ [17¹⁻¹¹, Ex. 28¹]

Priestly Codes

Nu. 3 ⁵Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ⁶Bring the tribe of Levi near, and set them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister to him. ⁷They shall obey his orders and have charge of the whole congregation before the tent of meeting, to perform the service of the dwelling. ⁸They shall also care for all the furniture of the tent of meeting, and have charge of the Israelites, to perform the service of the dwelling. ⁹Thou shalt give the Levites to Aaron and to his sons; they shall be wholly given to him in behalf of the Israelites. ¹⁰Thou shalt also appoint Aaron and his sons to have charge of their priestly office; the layman who comes near shall be put to death.

Call
and
com-
mission
of the
tribe of
Levi

The Post-Exilic Hierarchy.—The fall of the Judean state in 586 B.C. and the long subjection to foreign masters which followed left the priests the one ruling class in Judaism. With the fall of the monarchy, civil as well as religious authority passed to the hierarchy. The growing importance of the ritual also added to the prominence of the priesthood. The result was that from the days of Ezra and Nehemiah their numbers and duties and income rapidly increased. Their organization was also more highly developed. At the head of the hierarchy stood the high priest, with at times almost royal authority. Next in rank were his kinsmen and immediate associates the priests who were designated in the priestly codes as the *sons of Aaron*. Like the sons of Zadok in Ezek.'s hierarchy, note § 153, they were doubtless for the most part the descendants of the Levitical priests, who had served at the pre-exilic Jerusalem temple, cf. below. The distinction between them and the Levites, the descendants of the priests of the pre-exilic sanctuaries outside of Jerusalem, was sharply defined, and the Levites were allowed to perform only the menial duties in connection with the temple.

§ 156 The historical origin of the priesthood and of the later distinction between the priests and Levites has already been traced, cf. introd. under § 148. Later priestly tradition, however, following its natural tendencies, cf. Introd., p. 10, connected this origin directly with Moses. According to Nu. 3⁵⁻¹⁰, as Jehovah's herald, he proclaimed at Sinai the unique priestly prerogatives of the sons of Aaron and the dependent position of the Levites. Their choice is arbitrary and final, cf. also Ex. 28 and 29⁹. The tradition in Nu. 17¹⁻¹¹ also contains an account of a miraculous sign confirming the choice of Aaron, Vol. I, § 93.

No clear traces of this late priestly belief that Aaron was the ancestral father of the legitimate priesthood can be found in the pre-exilic literature. It is not certain that his name occurred at all in the original early Judean prophetic narratives. In the Ephraimite section, Ex. 32, when the idolatrous northern cults at Bethel and Samaria are indirectly condemned, Aaron directs the making of the golden calf. Elsewhere in the northern traditions, Joshua ministers at the tent of meeting, Ex. 33¹¹. The priests in charge of the pre-exilic Jerusalem temple were appointees of David and Solomon. Ezek. recognizes only the sons of Zadok and knows nothing of the sons of Aaron. The late title *son of Aaron* apparently included the Zadokites, and probably certain other priestly clans. Its origin is doubtful, but it seems to represent a compromise with the exclusive position set forth by Ezek. The Zadokites continued, however, to hold the chief offices, and later apparently again came into prominence as the party of the Sadducees.

I

THE LEVITES

§ 157. Legal Age of Service, Nu. 8²³⁻²⁶

Very Late Supplemental Priestly Codes

From
twenty-
five to
fifty

Nu. 8 ²³Jehovah said to Moses, ²⁴This is that which concerneth the Levites: From twenty-five years old and upward they shall go in to fulfil their service in the work of the tent of meeting. ²⁵At the age of fifty years they shall cease to render service, and shall serve no more; ²⁶they may minister with their kinsmen in the tent of meeting, to fulfil that duty, but shall perform no service. Thus shalt thou deal with the Levites concerning their duties.

§ 158. Consecration, Nu. 8⁵⁻²²

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Rite of
cleans-
ing

Nu. 8 ⁵Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ⁶Take the Levites from among the Israelites, and cleanse them. ⁷Thus shalt thou deal with them, in cleansing them; sprinkle them with the water of expiation,^a and let them shave all their flesh with a razor, and let them wash their clothes, and cleanse themselves.

Public
sacri-
fice in
their
behalf

⁸Then let them take a young bullock, with its cereal-offering, fine meal mixed with oil;^b and another young bullock shalt thou take as a sin-offering. ⁹Then thou shalt present the Levites before the tent of meeting; and thou shalt assemble the whole congregation of the Israelites; ¹⁰and thou shalt present the Levites before Jehovah. And the Israelites shall lay their hands upon the Levites.^c ¹²The Levites also shall lay their hands upon the heads of the bullocks; then thou shalt offer the one as a sin-offering, and the other as a burnt-offering, to Jehovah, to make atonement for the Levites. ¹³Thou shalt also set the Levites before Aaron, and before his sons, and offer them as a sacred offering^d to Jehovah.

§ 157. Nu. 4³ fixes the minimum age of service at thirty years; cf. § 34; 8²⁴ at twenty-five and the Chronicler at twenty, I Chr. 23^{24, 27}, II 31¹⁷, Ezra 3⁸. Apparently these different sources represent the usage in the succeeding periods to which they each belong. The increased duties of the Levites may well explain why in the Gk. period they were pressed into service at an earlier age.

§ 158. The law prescribing a detailed ceremony for the consecration of the Levites evidently belongs to the latest stratum of the Pentateuch. It is really an expansion of the simple law of Nu. 3⁹⁻¹⁰. In the process of repeated expansion several repetitions have crept in, cf. *e. g.*, vss. 6, 16 and 11, 13, 15. Vss. 15b-22 contain an expanded version of the preceding regulations. Aaron is also assigned the central place in the narrative instead of Moses. The aim of the law is to provide a formal consecration for the Levites, as well as for the priests, Lev. 8.

^a Nu. 8⁷ Heb., *water of sin, i. e.*, for the removal of sin.

^b Nu. 8⁹ The phrase, *as a burnt-offering*, is perhaps to be added, though found in none of the versions, cf. 12.

^c Nu. 8¹⁰ Vs. 11 reads, *Then Aaron shall offer (Heb., wave) the Levites before Jehovah as a sacred offering (Heb., wave-offering) in behalf of the Israelites, that it may be theirs to perform the service of Jehovah*; it is clearly an explanatory interpolation. Aaron, not Moses, as in 13, is commanded to present the Levites to Jehovah.

^d Nu. 8¹³ Heb., *wave them as a wave-offering*. The original significance of the words apparently is lost here. So vss. 16-21.

Supplementary Priestly Codes

¹⁴Thus shalt thou separate the Levites from among the Israelites, that the Levites may be mine. ¹⁵Afterwards shall the Levites go in to perform the service of the tent of meeting; thus shalt thou cleanse them and offer them as a sacred offering; ¹⁶for they are wholly given to me from among the Israelites; instead of all that openeth the womb, even the first-born of all the Israelites, have I taken them for myself. ¹⁷For all the first-born among the Israelites are mine, both of man and of beast; on the first day when I smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt I sanctified them for myself. ¹⁸And I have taken the Levites instead of all the first-born among the Israelites. ¹⁹And I have given the Levites as a gift to Aaron and to his sons from among the Israelites, to perform the service of the Israelites in the tent of meeting and thus make atonement for the Israelites; that there may be no plague among the Israelites, when the Israelites come near the sanctuary.

²⁰So Moses and all the congregation of the Israelites dealt thus with the Levites; according to all that Jehovah commanded Moses* concerning the Levites, thus the Israelites dealt with them. ²¹So the Levites cleansed themselves from sin, and they washed their clothes; and Aaron offered them as a sacred offering before Jehovah; and Aaron made atonement for them to cleanse them. ²²Afterward the Levites went to perform their service in the tent of meeting before Aaron, and before his sons; as Jehovah had commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so they dealt with them.†

Pre-sented to Je-hovah in place of the first-born of the people

Traditional precedent

§ 159. Duties, Nu. 3¹⁻⁹, 18¹⁻⁶ [8¹⁵, 24-26], 14⁷⁻⁵³, 32⁵, 26, 29-32, 35-37, 44, 5, 15, 24-33, I Chr. 23¹⁻⁵ [6-26] 27-32, 25¹⁻⁸

Priestly Codes

Nu. 3 ⁵Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ⁶Bring the tribe of Levi near, and set them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister to him. ⁷They shall obey his orders, and have charge of the whole congregation before the tent of meeting, to perform the service of the dwelling. ⁸They shall also care for all the furniture of the tent of meeting, and have charge of the Israelites, to perform the service of the dwelling. ⁹Thou shalt give the Levites to Aaron and his sons; they shall be wholly given to him in behalf of the Israelites.

To take charge of the sanctuary

18 ¹And Jehovah said to Aaron, Thou and thy sons and thy fathers' house with thee shall bear the consequences of the iniquity committed in the sanctuary;‡ and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the consequences of the iniquity committed in the exercise of your priestly office. ²And thy kinsmen also, the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring near with thee, that they may be associated with thee, and minister to thee, while thou and thy sons with thee are before the tent of the testimony. ³And they shall

To assist the priests

* Nu. 8²⁰ Heb. adds, *and Aaron*, a later gloss.

† Nu. 8²¹, 22 These vsa. are very late additions to the law.

§ 159 The late priestly laws limit the duties of the Levites to the care of the sanctuary and its furnishings. They are simply the servants of the priests and perform the menial services which fell to the temple slaves in the pre-exilic temple, cf. § 152. The Chronicler, however, states that certain Levitical families or guilds were organized as temple singers. In I Chr. 6¹⁸ three such Levitical guilds are mentioned, which bear the names, Heman, Asaph and Ethan, cf. II Chr. 20¹⁹ Ezra 2⁴¹ and its parallel Neh. 7⁴⁴ speaks only of the sons or guild of Asaph. The superscriptions of the Pss. also bear testimony to the existence of these guilds of singers. In connection with Herod's temple the Levitical singers play an important rôle. Their prominent development appears, however, to have followed the reformation under Ezra and Neh. cf. Vol. V, *Intro. in loco*.

‡ Nu. 18¹ Heb., *bear the iniquity of the sanctuary*. The expression is apparently a technical priestly idiom and must be expanded to be intelligible. Cf. e. g. 1⁵⁰.

Priestly Codes

obey thy orders, and have the care of all the tent; only they shall not come near to the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar, that they die not, neither they, nor ye. ⁴And they shall be associated with thee, and have charge of the tent of meeting, to perform all the service of the tent, for no layman shall come near you. ⁵But ye shall have charge of the sanctuary and the altar, that wrath may never again come upon the Israelites there. ⁶And I, behold, I have taken your kinsmen the Levites from among the Israelites; they are a gift to you, given to Jehovah, to perform the service of the tent of meeting.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

To act
as por-
ters
and
guards

NU. 1 ⁴⁷The Levites according to the tribe of their fathers were not numbered among the Israelites; ⁴⁸for Jehovah said to Moses, ⁴⁹Only the tribe of Levi shalt thou not number, neither shalt thou take a census of them among the Israelites, ⁵⁰but appoint the Levites over the dwelling of the testimony, and over all its furniture, and over all that belongeth to it; they shall carry the dwelling, and all its furniture; and they shall minister to it, and shall encamp round about the dwelling. ⁵¹And when the dwelling setteth forward, the Levites shall take it down, and when the dwelling halteth the Levites shall set it up; the layman who cometh near shall be put to death. ⁵²The Israelites shall encamp according to their hosts, each man by his own camp, and each man by his own standard. ⁵³But the Levites shall encamp about the dwelling of the testimony, that no wrath come upon the congregation of the Israelites; thus the Levites shall take charge of the dwelling of the testimony.

Special
duties
of the
sons of
Ger-
shon

3 ²⁵And the charge of the sons of Gershon in the tent of meeting shall be the dwelling, the tent, its covering, the screen for the door of the tent of meeting, ²⁶the hangings of the court, and the screen for the door of the court which is by the dwelling, and by the altar round about, and the cords for all its service.

Of Ko-
hath

²⁹The families of the sons of Kohath shall encamp on the side of the dwelling on the south. ³⁰And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of Uzziel. ³¹And their charge shall be the ark, the table, the candlestick, the altars, the vessels of the sanctuary with which they minister, the screen, and all its service. ³²And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be the prince of the princes of the Levites, having the oversight of those who have charge of the sanctuary.

Of
Merari

³⁵And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of Merari was Zuriel the son of Abihail: they shall encamp on the north side of the dwelling. ³⁶And the appointed charge of the sons of Merari shall be the boards of the dwelling, and its bars, its pillars, its sockets, and all its instruments, and all its service, ³⁷and the pillars of the court round about, with their sockets, their pins, and their cords.

4 ⁴This is the service of the sons of Kohath in the tent of meeting, the care of the most holy things: ⁵when the camp sets forth, Aaron shall go in,

Supplemental Priestly Code

and his sons, and they shall take down the veil of the screen, and cover the ark of the testimony with it. ¹⁵And when Aaron and his sons have finished covering the sanctuary, and all the furniture of the sanctuary, as the camp is about to set forth, after that the sons of Kohath shall come to carry them, without, however, touching the holy things lest they die. To carry these things is the duty of the sons of Kohath in connection with the tent of meeting.

Of the sons of Kohath on the march

²⁴This is the service of the families of the Gershonites in connection with serving and carrying: ²⁵they shall carry the curtains of the dwelling, and the tent of meeting, its protecting covering, and the covering of Egyptian leather which is over it, and the screen of the door of the tent of meeting, ²⁶and the hangings of the court, and the screen for the door of the gate of the court, which surrounds the dwelling and the altar, and their cords, and all the accessories of their service; whatever is to be done in connection with them the Gershonites shall perform. ²⁷At the bidding of Aaron and his sons the Gershonites shall perform all their service in connection with all that they have to carry, and all that is in their care. Ye shall assign to them by name all the things committed to them to carry.^b ²⁸This is the service of the families of the Gershonites in the tent of meeting; the performance of their duties shall be under the supervision of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

Of the Gershonites

²⁹As for the sons of Merari, thou shalt number them by their families, by their fathers' houses; ³⁰from thirty years old and upward even to fifty years old thou shalt number them, every one who entereth upon the service,ⁱ to do the work of the tent of meeting. ³¹This is their responsibility in connection with carrying and all their service in the tent of meeting: the boards of the dwelling, and its bars, and its pillars, and its sockets, ³²and the pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their pins, and their cords, with all their accessories, and with all the work which they require.^j ³³This is the service of the families of the sons of Merari in connection with all their serving in the tent of meeting, under the supervision of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

Of the sons of Merari

Chronicler's Ecclesiastical History

I Chr. 23 ¹Now David was old and advanced in years when he made Solomon his son king over Israel. ²And he gathered together all the princes of Israel, with the priests and the Levites. ³And the Levites thirty years old and upward were numbered; and their number by their census, man by man, was thirty-eight thousand. ⁴Of these, twenty-four thousand were to oversee the work of the temple of Jehovah; and six thousand were officers and judges; ⁵and four thousand were door-keepers; and four thousand praised Jehovah with the instruments which he^k made for giving praise. ²⁷For in

Varied duties of the Levites according to the Chronicler

^b Nu. 4²⁷ This last clause is perhaps a scribal addition.

ⁱ Nu. 4³⁰ Lit., warfare.

^j Nu. 4³² Ye shall appoint to them (cf. Gk. and 27) by name all (so Gk. and Sam.) the things committed to their charge to carry, is clearly a later gloss.

^k I Chr. 23⁵ So Gk. Heb., I made.

Chronicler's Ecclesiastical History

accordance with the last words of David the sons of Levi twenty years old and upward were numbered. ²⁸For their official duty was to wait on the sons of Aaron in connection with the service of the temple of Jehovah, in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of all the holy things, even the work of the service of the house of God ²⁹in connection with the show-bread¹ and the fine meal for a cereal-offering, whether of unleavened wafers or of that which is baked in the pan or of that which is soaked, and in connection with all measurements of capacity or length;^m ³⁰and to stand every morning to give thanks and praise to Jehovah, and likewise also in the evening; ³¹and to offer regularly all burnt-offerings to Jehovah, on the sabbaths, on the new moons, and on the appointed feasts, in their order according to the regulation concerning them. ³²They also had charge of the tent of meeting and of the holy place, and of the sons of Aaron their kinsmen in connection with the service of the house of Jehovah.

As
temple
singers

²⁵ ¹Moreover David and the commanders of the army set aside for the service certain of the sons of Asaph and Heman and Jeduthun, who prophesied with harps, with lyres, and with cymbals. And the number of those who did the work according to their service was ²of the sons of Asaph: Zaccur, and Joseph, and Nethaniah, and Asharelah,ⁿ the sons of Asaph, under the charge^o of Asaph, who prophesied at the direction of the king. ³Of Jeduthun;^p the sons of Jeduthun: Gedaliah, Jizri,^q Jeshaiiah, Hashabiah, and Mattithiah, six,^r under the direction of their father Jeduthun with the harp, who prophesied by giving thanks and praising Jehovah. ⁴Of Heman; the sons of Heman: Bukkiah, Mattaniah, Uzziel, Shebuel, and Jerimoth, Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah, Giddalti, and Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth.^s ⁵All these were the sons of Heman the king's seer in accord with God's promise to exalt his horn.^t And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters. ⁶All these were under the direction of their father for song in the temple of Jehovah, with cymbals, lyres, and harps in connection with the service of the house of God, Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman being under the direction of the king. ⁷And their number, together with their kinsmen who were instructed in singing praise to Jehovah, even all who were skilful, was two hundred and eighty-eight. ⁸And they all cast lots for their offices, both the small and the great, the teacher and the one taught.

¹ I Chr. 23²⁸ *I. e.*, the baking of the bread.

^m I Chr. 23²⁸ *I. e.*, to measure all gifts and offerings brought to the temple.

ⁿ I Chr. 25² In vs. ¹⁴ *Jesarel, Luc., Aseivela.*

^o I Chr. 25² Heb., *under the hands of.*

^p I Chr. 25³ Elsewhere, *Ethan.*

^q I Chr. 25³ So ¹¹; Heb., *Zeri.*

^r I Chr. 25³ But five are mentioned, unless the father be included.

^s I Chr. 25⁴ A slight change in the vocalization of these proper names gives the fragment of a psalm which was probably in the Chr.'s mind:

*Be gracious to me, O Jehovah, be gracious! Thou art my God!
Thou hast given great and signal aid to those in affliction;
Thou hast given many and full visions.*

^t I Chr. 25⁵ *I. e.*, to bless with many offspring.

§ 160. Property and Means of Support, Nu. 18²¹, 23, 24, 31²⁸, 30, 37, 35¹⁻⁸,
Lev. 25²⁰⁻³⁴

Priestly Codes

Nu. 18 ²¹To the sons of Levi, behold, I give every tithe in Israel as an inheritance, in return for their service which they perform, even the service of the tent of meeting. ²³The Levites shall perform the service of the tent of meeting, and they shall bear the consequences of their iniquity; this shall be a statute forever throughout your generations:^u among the Israelites they shall have no inheritance. ²⁴For the tithe of the Israelites, which they offer as a portion reserved for Jehovah, I have given to the Levites as an inheritance; therefore I have said concerning them, Among the Israelites they shall have no inheritance.

The
tithes

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 31 ²⁸Levy a contribution for Jehovah upon the warriors who went out to battle; one in five hundred, of the persons, and of the oxen, and of the asses, and of the flocks. ²⁹Take it from their half, and give it to Eleazar the priest, as a special contribution to Jehovah. ³⁰And from the Israelites' half, thou shalt take one drawn out of every fifty, of the persons, of the oxen, of the asses, and of the flocks, even of all the cattle, and give them to the Levites, who have the charge of the dwelling of Jehovah. ⁴⁷Of the Israelites' half, Moses took one drawn out of every fifty, both of man and of beast, and gave them to the Levites, who had charge of the dwelling of Jehovah, as Jehovah commanded Moses.

Share
of the
spoils
of war

35 ¹Jehovah spoke thus to Moses in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, ²Command the Israelites that they give to the Levites out of their hereditary possession cities to dwell in; and pasture land for the cities round about them shall ye give to the Levites. ³The cities shall they have to dwell in; and their pasture land shall be used for their cattle,^v and for their herds, and for all their beasts. ⁴The pasture land of the cities, which ye shall give to the Levites, shall extend outside the wall of the city a thousand cubits in every direction. ⁵Ye shall measure without the city on the east side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits, and on the west side two thousand cubits, and on the north side two thousand cubits, the city being in the midst.^w This shall serve them as pasture land belonging

Forty-
eight
cities
with
their
sub-
urbs

§ 160 Cf. for the income of the pre-exilic Levitical priests, §§ 150, 157. The priestly law of Nu. 18²³ reiterates the older regulation of Dt. 18¹, *the Levites shall have no inheritance*. The priestly law, however, provides that they shall no longer be dependent upon the generosity of the individual offerers, but shall receive as their own nine-tenths of the annual tithes, the remaining tenth to be paid by them to the priests. This regulation establishes as a law the principle underlying Nehemiah's reform measures, Neh. 13¹⁰⁻¹³. The supplemental priestly codes added to the income of the Levites a portion of the spoils of war and reversed the earlier law to the effect that they should have no inheritance, and in a tradition connected with Moses, assigned to them certain cities, with the surrounding pasture lands. There is no evidence, however, that this provision was ever carried out. Like the regulation regarding the year of jubilee, it remained only a priestly ideal. Until the Levites became exceedingly numerous the tithe must have bountifully met their needs.

^u Nu. 18²³ This is possibly all a gloss with the exception of the last clause.

^v Nu. 35³ Lit., *property*.

^w Nu. 35⁵ Vss. 4, 5 cannot be harmonized as they stand, for the area is a circle in 4 and a square in 5. Either 5 is a gloss, or the author had not carefully considered his plan.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

to the cities. ⁶As for the cities which ye shall give to the Levites, ye shall set apart the six cities of refuge, whither the manslayer may flee;^x and besides these ye shall set apart forty-two cities. ⁷The whole number of the cities which ye shall give to the Levites shall be forty-eight cities; them shall ye give together with their suburbs. ⁸And concerning the cities which ye shall set apart from the possession of the Israelites, from the great tribe ye shall take many, and from the small tribe ye shall take few; each tribe according to its inheritance which it is to receive shall set apart some of its cities for the Levites.

Perpetual right in their hereditary possessions

Lev. 25 ²⁹If a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, he shall have the right of redeeming it for a whole year after it has been sold; for a year shall he retain the right of redemption. ³⁰Then if it is not redeemed within a year, the house that is in the walled city shall be assured in perpetuity to him who bought it, to him and his descendants; it shall not be released in the year of jubilee. ³¹But the houses of the villages which have no walls around them shall be reckoned as belonging to the fields of the country; the right of redemption shall be retained for them, and they shall be released in the year of jubilee. ³²But in the case of the houses in the cities of the Levites, the cities which belong to the Levites, the Levites shall have the perpetual right of redemption. ³³If, however, one of the Levites do not^y redeem it, then the house that was sold in^z the city that belongeth to him, shall be released at the year of jubilee; for the houses in the cities of the Levites are their possession among the Israelites. ³⁴But the pasture land belonging to their cities may not be sold, for it is their perpetual possession.

III

THE PRIESTS

§ 161. Qualifications, Lev. 21¹⁶⁻²³*Holiness Code*

Freedom from every physical defect

Lev. 21 ¹⁶Jehovah gave this command to Moses, ¹⁷Say to Aaron, 'No one of thy descendants throughout their generations who hath a blemish, shall approach to offer the food of his God. ¹⁸For no one who hath a blemish may approach; no one who is blind, or lame, or he who is mutilated in the face,^a

^x Nu. 35⁶ Slightly correcting the Heb., which is very awkward.

^y Lev. 25³³ The Heb. omits the negative.

^z Lev. 25³³ Slightly correcting the text. The Heb. has, *and, for, in.*

§ 161 The term, *son of Aaron*, as the regular designation of a priest, does not appear to have been found either in Ezek. or the Holiness Code, cf. note § 156. In the later process of priestly redaction, *Aaron* and the *sons of Aaron* have been introduced at many points into the older Holiness Code. In most cases, however, the hand of the editor is readily detected. The belief that a priest should be physically perfect is very ancient, and is in harmony with the characteristic teachings of the Holiness Code. Corresponding perfection and ceremonial purity were demanded in the case of both the offering and the individual offerer. It was in this graphic way that the prophetic ideal of moral perfection was impressed upon the popular mind by the later priestly teachers.

^a Lev. 21¹⁸ Gk. and Syr., *who hath a flat nose.*

Holiness Code

or who hath a limb too long,¹⁹ or a broken leg, or a broken arm,²⁰ or who is humpbacked or withered, or hath defective eyesight,^b or scurvy, or is scabbed, or whose testicles are destroyed;²¹ no one of the descendants of Aaron the priest, may thus come near to offer the offerings made by fire to Jehovah; he hath a blemish; he shall not come near to offer the food of his God. ²²He may eat the food of his God, both of the most holy and of the holy; ²³only he shall not go in to the veil, nor come near to the altar, because he hath a blemish; lest he profane my sanctuaries; for I am Jehovah who sanctifieth them.' ²⁴Thus Moses spoke to Aaron, and to his sons, and to all the Israelites.

§ 162. Consecration, Ex. 29^{1-4, 8-25, 35, 36a} [Lev. 8^{1-6, 13-36}, Ex. 30^{22, 40^{12, 14-16}}]

Priestly Codes

Ex. 29 ¹And this shall be thy method of procedure in consecrating Aaron and his sons to minister to me as priests: take one young bullock and two rams without blemish, ²and unleavened bread, and unleavened cakes mixed with oil, and unleavened wafers smeared with oil: of fine wheaten flour shalt thou make them; ³and thou shalt put them in a basket, and bring in the basket, with the bullock and the two rams.

⁴Then thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons to the entrance of the tent of meeting, and wash them with water. Washing

⁸And thou shalt bring his sons and clothe them with tunics, ⁹and shalt gird them with sashes,^c and fasten turbans on them; and they shall have the priesthood by a statute forever. Thus thou shalt install^d Aaron and his sons. Attiring in garb of office

¹⁰Then thou shalt bring the bullock before the tent of meeting; and Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock, ¹¹and thou shalt kill the bullock before Jehovah at the entrance of the tent of meeting. Sacrificial offerings

¹²Thou shalt take some of the blood of the bullock, and put it on the horns of the altar with thy finger, and pour out all the rest of the blood at the base of the altar. ¹³And thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the entrails, and

the fatty mass next to the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, and burn them upon the altar. ¹⁴But the flesh of the bullock, and its hide, and the contents of its entrails, thou shalt burn with fire outside the camp; it is a sin-offering. ¹⁵Thou shalt also take one of the rams; Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands on the head of the ram, ¹⁶and thou shalt slay the ram, and take some of its blood, and dash it round about against the altar.

¹⁷Then thou shalt cut the ram in pieces, and wash its entrails, and its legs, and put them with the rest of its pieces, and with its head, ¹⁸and thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the altar; it is a burnt-offering to Jehovah; it is a pleasant odor, an offering made by fire to Jehovah.

^b Lev. 21²⁰ Or, *white specks in the eye*, as Syr., or, *a running in the eye*, as Targ.

§ 162 These elaborate laws belong to the latest stratum of the Pentateuch and represent the extreme development in the O.T. of that ceremonialism which ultimately overshot its true mark—the moral purity of the state and individual. In slightly different terms the parallels in Lev. 8^{1-6, 13-36}, Ex. 30^{22, 40^{12, 14-16}} reflect the detailed directions of Ex. 29.

^c Ex. 29⁹ A scribe has added the awkward gloss, *Aaron and his sons*.

^d Ex. 29⁹ Lit., *fill the hands of*.

*Priestly Codes*Rite of
initia-
tion

¹⁹Then thou shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands on the head of the ram, ²⁰and thou shalt kill the ram and take some of its blood, and put it on the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and on the tip of the right ear of each of his sons, and upon the thumb of the right hand of each, and upon the great toe of the right foot, and dash the rest of the blood against the altar round about. ²¹Thou shalt take some of the blood that is on the altar, and some of the anointing oil, and sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons as well; thus he shall be consecrated, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments as well.^e ²²Thou shalt take also of the fat of the ram, and the fat tail, and the fat that covereth the entrails, and the fatty mass next to the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, and the right thigh—for it is a ram of consecration—²³and one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, out of the basket of unleavened bread that is before Jehovah; ²⁴thou shalt put them all on the hands of Aaron, and on the hands of his sons; and thou shalt wave them^f as a wave-offering before Jehovah. ²⁵Then thou shalt take them from their hands, and burn them on the altar upon the burnt-offering, as a pleasant odor before Jehovah; it is an offering made by fire to Jehovah.

Seven
days'
cere-
mony

³⁵So shalt thou deal with Aaron and his sons exactly as I have commanded thee; seven days shalt thou take in installing them. ^{36a}Each day shalt thou offer the bullock of sin-offering for atonement.^g

§ 163. Clothing, Ex. 28⁴⁰⁻⁴³ [29⁸, 9, Lev. 8¹³]*Priestly Codes*Cos-
tume
while
officiat-
ing

Ex. 28 ⁴⁰For Aaron's sons thou shalt make tunics, and thou shalt make for them sashes, and turbans shalt thou make for them, as splendid ornaments. ⁴¹Thou shalt put them on Aaron thy brother, and on his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and install them, and consecrate them, that they may minister to me as priests. ⁴²Thou shalt make them linen drawers to cover their bare flesh; from the loins to the thighs they shall reach; ⁴³and his sons shall wear them when they go in to the tent of meeting, or when they come near the altar to minister in the holy place, lest they incur guilt, and so die; it shall be a statute forever for him and his descendants after him.^h

^e Ex. 29²¹ This vs. is perhaps a later addition. In the Gk. it precedes the last clause of ²⁰.
^f Ex. 29²⁴ *I. e.*, swing them towards and from the altar, to symbolize their presentation to Jehovah, and his return of them to the giver. The expression is often used in a more general sense, where the original ceremony has disappeared, but not its significance.

^g Ex. 29^{36a} Possibly this vs. is later than the preceding law.
§ 163 Vs. ⁴¹ anticipates the directions in 29⁸ and interrupts the directions regarding the clothing in ⁴⁰, ⁴², ⁴³. The anointing of the priests also appears to be an addition peculiar to the supplemental codes. In the groundwork of the priestly codes the high priest alone is anointed, cf. § 168.

^h Ex. 28⁴², ⁴³ Prob. later than ⁴⁰

§ 164. Ceremonial Cleanliness, Lev. 21¹⁻⁹, 22¹⁻⁹, 10³, 9, 6, 7, Ex. 30¹⁷⁻²¹*Holiness Code*

Lev. 21 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses, Speak to the priests, the sons of Aaron and say to them, 'No priest shall defile himself for any one who is dead among his people,¹ ²except for his nearest kin, for his mother and his father and his son and his daughter and his brother; ³for his sister a virgin, who is near to him and hath had no husband, he may defile himself. ⁴But he shall not defile himself for a sister betrothed to a husband,^j so as to profane himself.

No contact with dead except nearest of kin

⁵They shall not make bald spots on their heads, nor shave off the corners of their beards, nor make any cuttings in their flesh. ⁶They shall be holy to their God, and not profane the name of their God; for the offerings made by fire to Jehovah, the food of their God, they do offer; therefore they must be holy.

No bodily mutilation

⁷A priest shall not marry a woman who is a harlot or dishonored, nor shall he^k marry a woman who has been divorced from her husband, for a priest is consecrated to his God. ⁸Thou shalt regard him as sacred, therefore, for he offereth the food of thy God; thou shalt regard him as holy; for I, Jehovah, who sanctify them,¹ am holy. ⁹If the daughter of a priest profane herself by playing the harlot, she profaneth her father; she shall be burnt with fire.'

No social immorality

22 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses, ²Speak to Aaron and his sons, that they keep themselves separate from the holy things of the Israelites, which they consecrate to me, and that they profane not my holy name: I am Jehovah. ³Say to them, 'Any one among all your descendants throughout your generations, who approacheth the holy things, which the Israelites consecrate to Jehovah, while he is unclean, that person shall be cut off from before me: I am Jehovah. ⁴No one of the descendants of Aaron who is a leper, or hath a discharge may eat of the holy things, until he become clean.

Nor to defile holy things

Anyone, moreover, who toucheth a thing^m that hath been made unclean by a dead body, or a man who hath an emission of semen, ⁵or anyone who toucheth any swarming creature which may occasion uncleanness, or a man from whom any sort of uncleanness may be contracted; ⁶the person who toucheth any such shall be unclean until evening and shall not eat of the holy things until he bathe his body in water. ⁷When the sun is set he shall become clean; and afterward he may eat of the holy things, because they

Cleansing for ceremonial defilement

§ 164 The ceremonial cleanliness of the priests was rigorously insisted upon by most ancient religions. The Egyptian priests wore linen and were required to bathe twice each day. The Persian priests observed strict rules of ceremonial cleanliness, and even wore a cloth over their mouth while sacrificing, lest their breath might contaminate the sacrificial offering. Thus by the example of the powerful nations with which they came into contact, as well as by the dominant forces at work in their midst, post-exilic Judaism was led to place the emphasis more and more on external forms. The passages from the Holiness Code, as usual, bring the ethical *motifs* to the front.

¹ Lev. 21¹ *I. e.*, by participating in the funeral rites.

^j Lev. 21⁴ Heb., *being a chief man (or husband) among his people*. The text is evidently corrupt and the versions differ. The reading adopted, though by no means certain, seems the most probable restoration.

^k Lev. 21⁷ The Heb. has a pl. verb in this and the following clause.

¹ Lev. 21⁸ So Gk. and Syr. Heb., *you*.

^m Lev. 22⁴ Or, *a person*.

Holiness Code

are his food. ⁸That which dieth a natural death, or is torn by beasts, he may not eat so as to be made unclean by it: I am Jehovah. ⁹So shall they observe my injunction. If they incur sin on account of some holy thing, and die in consequence of profaning it: I am Jehovah who sanctifieth them.'

Priestly Codes

To take
no in-
toxi-
cants

Lev. 10 ⁸Jehovah gave this command to Aaron, ⁹Drink no wine or strong drink, either thou or thy sons, when ye go into the tent of meeting, lest ye die; this shall be a statute forever throughout your generations.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

To
refrain
from
mourn-
ing

Lev. 10 ⁶Moses said to Aaron, and to Eleazar and to Ithamar, his sons, Do not unbind your heads^a or rend your clothes, lest ye die, and he be angry with all the congregation; but your fellow countrymen, the whole house of Israel, may bewail the burning which Jehovah hath kindled.^o ⁷Ye shall not go out from the entrance of the tent of meeting, lest ye die, for the anointing oil of Jehovah is on you. Then they did according to the command of Moses.

To
wash
before
offici-
ating

Ex. 30 ¹⁷Jehovah also gave this command to Moses, ¹⁸Thou shalt make a laver of brass, with its base of brass, to be used for washing. Thou shalt put it between the tent of meeting and the altar, and thou shalt put water in it, ¹⁹so that Aaron and his sons may wash their hands and their feet in it; ²⁰whenever they enter the tent of meeting, they shall wash with water, that they die not; or whenever they come near the altar to minister, to burn an offering made by fire to Jehovah. ²¹So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not. This shall be a statute forever for them, even for him and his descendants throughout their generations.

§ 165. Authority over Levites, Nu. 3⁵, 6, 9, 18¹, 2^a, 4²⁷

Priestly Codes

Levites
their
ser-
vants

Nu. 3 ⁵Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ⁶Bring the tribe of Levi near, and set them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister to him. ⁹And the Israelites shall give the Levites to Aaron and to his sons; they shall be wholly given to him in behalf of the Israelites.

Nu. 18 ¹Jehovah said to Aaron, Thou and thy sons and thy fathers' house with thee shall bear the guilt of the sanctuary;^p and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the guilt of your priesthood. ^{2a}Thy kinsmen also, the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring thou near with thee, that they may join themselves to thee and minister to thee.

^a Lev. 10⁶ *I. e.*, by removing the turbans.

^o Lev. 10⁶ The reference is to the punishment of Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, by fire from heaven because they had offered strange fire, 1-5.

^p Nu. 18¹ *Guilt of the sanctuary, i. e.*, the consequences of guilt incurred in connection with the sanctuary; cf. similarly, *guilt of your priesthood*.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

4 ²⁷At the bidding of Aaron and his sons the Gershonites shall perform all their service in connection with all that they have to carry, and all that is in their care; ye shall assign to them by name^a all the things committed to their charge to carry.

§ 166. Duties, Lev. 10^{8a}, 10, 11, Nu. 18⁵, 7^a, Lev. 21, 2 [9, 14-16], 6^{6b-7} [13, 14], Nu. 4¹¹ 15^a, 16

Priestly Codes

Lev. 10 ^{8a}Jehovah said to Aaron, ¹⁰Thou and thy sons shall distinguish between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean;^r ¹¹and ye shall teach the Israelites all the statutes which Jehovah hath revealed to them through Moses. To instruct the people

Nu. 18 ⁵And ye shall have charge of the sanctuary^s and the altar that wrath may never again come upon the Israelites. ^{7a}But thou and thy sons with thee shall limit the duties of your priestly office to everything about the altar and to that which is within the veil. To officiate at the altar

Lev. 2 ¹When anyone offereth a cereal-offering as a gift to Jehovah, his gift shall be of fine meal; and he shall pour oil on it, and put frankincense on it. ²Then he shall bring it to Aaron's sons the priests; and the priest shall take from it a handful of the fine meal and oil, with all the frankincense. Then as a memorial of the offering, the priest shall burn them on the altar, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah. To present Jehovah's part of cereal-offering

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Lev. 6 ^{6b}If a man bring a guilt-offering to Jehovah, ⁷the priest shall make atonement for him before Jehovah; and he shall be forgiven for anything which he may have done to incur guilt.^t Also guilt-offerings

Nu. 4 ¹¹Also over the golden altar the sons of Kohath shall spread a violet cloth, and cover it with a covering of Egyptian leather, and shall put in its staves.^u ¹²Then they shall take all the utensils of ministry which they use in ministering in the sanctuary, and put them in a violet cloth, and cover them with a covering of Egyptian leather, and put them on the frame. ¹³They shall also take away the ashes from the altar, and spread a purple cloth over it; ¹⁴and they shall put on it all the utensils of the altar which they use in ministering about it, the fire-pans, the fleshhooks, and the shovels, and the To take charge of the altar and its utensils

^a Nu. 4²⁷ So Gk. and cf. ³⁰. Heb. omits, *by name*.

§ 166 For the duties of the pre-exilic priests, cf. § 149, and of Ezek.'s priesthood, § 153. Their earlier functions as guardians of the oracle and as judges in civil as well as ceremonial cases have disappeared in the priestly codes, and instead their activity is limited to the care of the sanctuary and its sacrificial ritual, to the instruction of the people concerning their ceremonial duties, and to distinguishing between real and apparent cases of leprosy, cf. § 179.

^r Lev. 10¹⁰ In its present form in the Heb. this law is only a broken fragment, loosely connected with its context. It probably was originally a priestly direction.

^s Nu. 18⁵ Possibly the reference is to the oracle or holy of holies as elsewhere, but here it seems to include the sanctuary as a whole. Cf. for the context Vol. 1, § 93.

^t Lev. 6⁷ Lev. 14 also provides that the priests officiate in the sacrificial ceremony for the cleansing of lepers, cf. § 179.

^u Nu. 4¹¹ Vss. 11, 12, 16 are possibly later than the rest.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

basins, all the utensils of the altar; then they shall spread over it a covering of Egyptian leather, and put in its staves. ^{15a}When Aaron and his sons have finished covering the holy things,^v and all the holy utensils,^w as the camp is about to set forth, after that the sons of Kohath shall come to carry them, without, however, touching the holy things lest they die.

Summary
of cere-
monial
duties

¹⁶Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall have charge of the oil for the light, and the fragrant incense, and the daily^x cereal-offering, and the anointing oil; he shall have oversight over all the dwelling, and all that is in it, the holy things^y and the utensils which go with them.^z

§ 167. Means of Support, Lev. 23¹⁵⁻²⁰, Nu. 18²⁰, Lev. 7¹¹⁻¹⁴, 28-36 [37], 10¹⁴, 15, Ex. 29^{27, 28}, Nu. 18^{9, 10} [Lev. 6²⁴⁻²⁶, 7¹⁻⁷, 5¹¹⁻¹³], 6¹⁴⁻¹⁸, 10¹², 13 [2¹⁻³], 7⁹, 10, Nu. 6^{19, 20}, 18²⁵⁻³², 5⁹, 10, 18^{11, 14, 19}, 15^{20, 21} [Lev. 27¹⁻²⁹], Nu. 18^{12, 13}, 15-18 [3⁴⁶⁻⁵¹], Lev. 24^{5-9a}, Nu. 5⁵⁻⁸, Lev. 7⁸, Nu. 31²⁵⁻²⁹

Holiness Code

Offer-
ings at
the
feast of
weeks

Lev. 23 ¹⁵Ye shall count from the day following the sabbath, from the day that ye bring the sheaf of the wave-offering seven full weeks; ¹⁶until the day following the seventh sabbath shall ye count fifty days; then ye shall present a new cereal-offering to Jehovah. ¹⁷Ye shall bring out of your dwellings two wave-loaves of two-tenths of an ephah; they shall be of fine meal, and they shall be baked with leaven, as firstfruits for Jehovah. ¹⁸Ye shall present with the bread seven yearling lambs without blemish, and one young bullock, and two rams; they shall be a burnt-offering to Jehovah, with the accompanying cereal-offering and libations, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ¹⁹Ye shall also offer one male goat as a sin-offering, and^a two male lambs a year old as a sacrifice of peace-offerings. ²⁰Then the priest shall wave them with the bread of the firstfruits as a wave-offering before Jehovah, with the two lambs;^b they shall be a holy gift for Jehovah and shall belong to the priest.

^v Nu. 4^{16a} Or, *sanctuary*.

^w Nu. 4^{16a} Or, *utensils of the sanctuary*.

^x Nu. 4¹⁶ Heb., continual, cf. Lev. 6¹³⁻¹⁵.

^y Nu. 4¹⁶ Or, *sanctuary and its utensils*.

^z Nu. 4¹⁶ This vs. was probably the latest addition to the chapter.

§ 167 The priestly codes provide a definite and greatly increased income for the priests. Instead of being subjects of individual charity, as under the Deuteronomic codes, the priests were now able to demand certain specific dues. Definite portions of every sacrifice that was offered went to them. The tithe of the tithe also added to their income. As already enacted by Ezek., all the special contributions and objects consecrated to Jehovah, § 153, fell to them. In addition the priestly laws provide that the money paid for the redemption of every first-born in a family, the best portions of the olive oil and wine and the first ripe fruits as well as the first of the dough of every baking, should go to the priests. In this way they shared in the fruits of practically every form of labor in which the later Jews engaged. The supplemental laws further roll up their income by enacting that the hides of the animals sacrificed as burnt-offerings and a portion of all the spoils of war should belong to the priests.

^a Lev. 23^{18, 19a} The original animal sacrifice appears to have consisted simply of two lambs, ¹⁹. This section was probably added by a scribe who had in mind Nu. 28²⁷⁻³⁰, but who confused the numbers of rams and bullocks.

^b Lev. 23²⁰ A very late interpolation.

Priestly Codes

Nu. 18 ²⁰Jehovah said to Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, nor shalt thou have any portion among them; I am thy portion and thy inheritance among the Israelites. No inheritance

Lev. 7 ¹¹This is the law concerning the sacrifice of peace-offerings, which one may offer to Jehovah: ¹²if he offer it as a thank-offering, then he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened cakes mixed with oil, and unleavened wafers smeared with oil, and cakes mixed with oil, of fine meal well mixed. ¹³With cakes of unleavened bread in addition to the sacrifice of his peace-offerings, which are given as a thank-offering, shall he present his gift. ¹⁴And out of his offering he shall present one cake of each kind as a contribution to Jehovah; it shall belong to the priest who dasheth the blood of the peace-offerings. Parts of the peace-offerings

²⁸Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ²⁹Say to the Israelites, 'He who sacrificeth his peace-offerings to Jehovah shall bring his gift to Jehovah out of the peace-offerings which he sacrificeth.^d ³⁰With his own hands he shall bring the offerings to be made by fire to Jehovah; the fat with the breast shall he bring, that the breast may be waved as a wave-offering before Jehovah. ³¹The priest shall burn the fat on the altar; but the breast shall belong to Aaron and his sons. ³²And the right thigh shall ye give to the priest as a contribution out of the peace-offerings which ye sacrifice.^e ³³He among the sons of Aaron who offereth the blood of the peace-offerings and the fat shall have the right thigh as his due. ³⁴For the wave-breast and the thigh that is set aside have I taken from the Israelites out of the peace-offerings which they sacrifice and have given them to Aaron the priest and his sons as their due forever from the Israelites.^f

³⁵This is the share^g of Aaron, and the share of his sons, out of the offerings for Jehovah made by fire, in the day when Moses presented them to minister as priests to Jehovah, ³⁶which Jehovah commanded to be given by the Israelites on the day he anointed them. It is a statute forever throughout their generations.^h

10 ¹⁴Thou and thy sons and thy daughters with thee shall eat in a clean place the wave-breast and the thigh of the contribution, for they are given as thy due, and thy sons' due, out of the peace-offerings which the Israelites sacrifice. ¹⁵The thigh of the contribution and the wave-breast shall they bring with the offerings of the fat made by fire to wave them as a wave-offering before Jehovah; they shall belong to thee and to thy sons as your due forever, as Jehovah hath commanded.ⁱ Of the private contributions

Ex. 29 ²⁷Thou shalt consecrate the breast of the wave-offering, and the thigh of the contribution, which is waved, and that which is contributed, of the ram of consecration, for Aaron and his sons; ²⁸and they shall belong to

^c Lev. 7¹¹⁻¹⁴ The form and contents of this passage indicate that it is from the priestly directions.

^d Lev. 7²⁸⁻³³ These vss. are evidently a supplement to the preceding priestly directions. They probably come, however, from the author of the priestly groundwork, cf. *Intro.*, pp. 44, 45.

^e Lev. 7³² Possibly a gloss.

^f Lev. 7³⁴ This vs. has the characteristics of the latest priestly editors.

^g Lev. 7³⁵ This word has been confused with one etymologically similar which means *anointing portion*, and this confusion has led to a gloss in ³⁰, *on the day that he anointed them*.

Vss. ³⁵, ³⁶ may also be later additions to ¹¹⁻¹⁴.

^h Lev. 10¹⁵ Probably a still later gloss.

Priestly Code

Aaron and his sons as their due forever from the Israelites; for it is a contribution; and it shall be a contribution from the Israelites out of the peace-offerings which they sacrifice, even their contribution to Jehovah.

Nu. 18 ⁹This shall be thy share of the most holy things, reserved from the fire: all their gifts, even all their cereal-offerings, all their sin-offerings, and all their guilt-offerings, with which they make restitution to me, shall be held most sacred by thee and thy sons. ¹⁰In a most holy place shalt thou eat it; every male shall eat it; it shall be held sacred by thee.

Of the
cereal-
offer-
ings

Lev. 6 ¹⁴This is the law concerning the cereal-offering: the sons of Aaronⁱ shall offer it before Jehovah, in front of the altar. ¹⁵And he shall take up a handful of the fine meal of the cereal-offering, and of the oil, and of the frankincense which is upon the cereal-offering, and shall burn it on the altar as an offering made by fire^j of pleasing odor, as a memorial^k to Jehovah. ¹⁶The rest of it Aaron and his sons shall eat; it shall be eaten unleavened in a holy place; in the court of the tent of meeting they shall eat it. ¹⁷It shall not be baked with leaven. I have given it as their portion of my offerings made by fire; like the sin-offering, and the guilt-offering, it is most holy. ¹⁸Any male among the sons of Aaron may eat of it, as his everlasting due throughout your generations, from the offerings made by fire to Jehovah; but any layman who toucheth these offerings shall become holy.^l

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Lev. 10 ¹²Then Moses gave command to Aaron, and to Eleazar and Ithamar, his sons who were left to him, Take the cereal-offering that is left over from the offerings made by fire to Jehovah and eat it unleavened beside the altar; for it is most holy.^m ¹³And ye shall eat it in a holy place, for it is thy due and thy sons' due of the offerings of Jehovah made by fire; for thus I am commanded.

7 ⁹Every cereal-offering that is baked in the oven, and whatever is prepared in the stew-pan or on the griddle shall belong to the priest who offereth it.ⁿ ¹⁰But every cereal-offering, whether mixed with oil or dry, shall belong to the sons of Aaron, to all alike.

Priestly Codes

Of the
Nazi-
rite of-
fering

Nu. 6 ¹⁹The priest shall take the boiled shoulder of the ram, and one unleavened cake from the basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall lay them on the hands of the Nazirite, after he hath shaved off the evidence of his separation.^o ²⁰Then the priest shall wave them as a wave-offering

ⁱ Lev. 6¹⁴ The subsequent context indicates that this is a later insertion. The passage is from the priestly directions.

^j Lev. 6¹⁵ So Gk. and Sam. Heb., as a pleasing odor, cf. 1⁹ and 2².

^k Lev. 6¹⁵ As a memorial, possibly secondary, interrupting the usual form of expression.

^l Lev. 6¹⁸ Lit., whoever toucheth them shall be holy, i. e., infected with holiness, tabooed from any common occupation.

^m Lev. 10¹² This vs. incorporates earlier data in a very late setting.

ⁿ Lev. 7⁹ Possibly this vs. is also one of the later additions to the priestly codes.

^o Nu. 6¹⁹ Lit., his separation, i. e., shaved off his hair which hitherto had symbolized his Naziritship.

Priestly Code

before Jehovah; this is a holy gift for the priest, together with the wave-breast and thigh of the contribution; after this the Nazirite may drink wine.

18 ²⁵Jehovah gave this command to Moses, ²⁶Thou shalt speak to the Levites and say to them, 'When ye take from the Israelites the tithe which I have granted you from them as your inheritance, ye shall make a contribution from it to Jehovah, a tithe of the tithe. ²⁷Your contribution shall be accredited to you as though it were the grain of the threshing-floor and as the full produce of the winepress. ²⁸Thus ye also shall make a contribution to Jehovah of all your tithes which ye receive from the Israelites; and out of them ye shall give Jehovah's full contribution to Aaron the priest. ²⁹Out of all your gifts ye shall make the full contribution due to Jehovah, even the consecrated parts of these gifts, selecting it from the best of them.' ³⁰Therefore say to them, 'When ye have contributed from your gifts the best part^p of them, the rest shall be reckoned to the Levites as the produce of the threshing-floor and of the winepress. ³¹Ye may eat it anywhere, ye and your families, for it is your reward in return for your service in the tent of meeting. ³²When ye have made a contribution from the best of your tithes, ye shall incur no guilt on account of it; ye shall not profane the holy things of the Israelites, lest ye die.'

A tithe
of all
the
tithes

5 ⁹Every contribution, even all the holy things of the Israelites, which they present to the priest, shall be his; ¹⁰and as for every man's consecrated things, they shall belong to the priest;^q whatever any man giveth to the priest, his shall it be.

18 ¹¹This is thine: the contribution from their gift, including all the wave-offerings of the Israelites; I have given them to thee, and to thy sons, and to thy daughters with thee, as an everlasting due; every one who is clean in thy family may eat of it. ¹⁴Everything devoted in Israel shall be thine. ¹⁹All the contributions, which the Israelites make to Jehovah from the holy things have I given thee and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, as an everlasting due; it is an inviolable covenant^r forever before Jehovah for thee and for thy descendants with thee.^s

All
special
contri-
butions

15 ²⁰Of the first of your dough ye shall offer a cake as a contribution; as ye offer the contribution from the threshing-floor, so shall ye contribute it. ²¹Of the first of your dough ye shall give to Jehovah a contribution throughout your generations.

18 ¹²All the best^t of the oil, and all the best^t of the new wine, and of the grain, the firstfruits of them which they give to Jehovah, to thee have I given them, ¹³the first-ripe fruits of all that is in their land, which they bring to Jehovah, shall be thine; every one who is clean in thy family may eat of it.

First-
fruits
of the
ground

¹⁵Everything that openeth the womb of all flesh which they offer to Je-

^p Nu. 18³⁰ Lit., *fat*.

^q Nu. 5⁹ Heb., *be his*.

^r Nu. 18¹⁹ Lit., *covenant of salt*. The root idea is that those who share the same food, are bound not only to refrain from injuring each other, but to help each other whenever occasion may demand.

^s Nu. 18¹⁴, ¹⁹ This law is developed in Lev. 27¹⁻²⁹ where the different gifts vowed or dedicated to Jehovah are specified. Cf. § 193.

^t Nu. 18¹² Lit., *fat*.

Priestly Codes

First-born of family, herd, and flock

hovah, both of man and beast shall be thine; only for the first-born of man thou shalt receive a ransom, and for the firstling of an unclean animal thou shalt receive a ransom.^u ¹⁶At a month old thou shalt receive its^v ransom price according to thy valuation, the sum of five shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary, which contains twenty gerahs. ¹⁷But for the first-born of a cow, or the first-born of a sheep, or the first-born of a goat, thou shalt not receive a ransom; they are holy; thou shalt dash their blood against the altar, and burn their fat as an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ¹⁸Their flesh shall be thine; like the wave-breast and the right thigh, it shall be thine.

Show-bread

Lev. 24 ⁵Thou shalt take fine meal and bake twelve cakes of it, with two-tenths of an ephah in each cake. ⁶Thou shalt set them in two rows, six in a row, upon the table of pure gold^w before Jehovah. ⁷Thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each row, to serve as a memorial of the bread, an offering made by fire to Jehovah. ⁸Every sabbath day the priest shall set it in order before Jehovah regularly; it is offered in behalf of the Israelites, in token of an everlasting covenant. ^{9a}It shall belong to Aaron and his sons; they shall eat it in a holy place, for it is most holy.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Guilt-offerings

Nu. 5 ⁵Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ⁶Say to the Israelites, 'When a man or woman shall commit any sin such as men commit,^x in breaking faith^a with Jehovah, and that person shall so incur guilt, ⁷he shall confess the sin which he hath committed,^b and shall restore in full that which he holds wrongfully,^c and shall add a fifth to it, and give it to him by wronging whom he hath incurred guilt. ⁸But if the man have no kinsman to whom the property wrongfully held may be restored, the property wrongfully held must be restored to Jehovah; the priest shall have it; besides the ram of the atonement, with which atonement is made for him.'

Hide of the burnt-offerings
Part of the spoils of war

Lev. 7 ⁸As for the priest, who offereth any man's burnt-offering, he shall have as his own the hide of the burnt-offering which he hath offered.

Nu. 31 ²⁵Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ²⁶Make an estimate of the booty that was taken, both man and beast, thou, and Eleazar the priest, and the heads of the fathers' houses of the congregation; ²⁷and divide the booty into two parts, between the men skilled in war, who went out to battle, and all the rest of the congregation. ²⁸Then levy a contribution for Jehovah upon the warriors who went out to battle: one in every five hundred, of the persons, and of the oxen, and of the asses, and of the flocks; ²⁹take it from their half and give it to Eleazar the priest as a special contribution to Jehovah.

^u Nu. 18¹⁵ Lit., *thou shalt ransom*. The Heb. word is probably wrongly pointed.

^v Nu. 18¹⁶ Its clearly refers to the first-born of man alone.

^w Lev. 24⁶ Lit., *pure table*.

^x Nu. 5⁶ Or, *against men*.

^a Nu. 5⁶ Or, *and so break faith*.

^b Nu. 5⁷ Heb., *they shall confess their sin which they have committed*.

^c Nu. 5⁷ Or, *make restitution for his guilt*. Lit., *restore his guilt*. The word here used ordinarily means *guilt-offering*; and only here and in ⁸ has it the meaning indicated in the translation.

IV

THE HIGH PRIEST

§ 168. Installation, Ex. 29⁵⁻⁷, 40^{12, 13} [Lev. 8⁷⁻¹²]

Priestly Codes

Ex. 29 ⁵Thou shalt take the garments, and clothe Aaron with the tunic, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird him with the skillfully wrought band of the ephod; ⁶and thou shalt set the turban on his head, and put the holy crown upon the turban. ⁷Then thou shalt take the anointing oil, and pour it on his head, and anoint him.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Ex. 40 ¹²Thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons to the entrance of the tent of meeting, and shalt wash them with water. ¹³Then thou shalt clothe Aaron with the holy garments; and thou shalt anoint him, and consecrate him, that he may minister to me in the priest's office.

§ 169. Clothing, Ex. 28¹⁻³⁹, 29^{29, 30} [39¹⁻³⁹]

Priestly Codes

Ex. 28 ¹Bring thou near to thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the Israelites, that he may minister to me in the priest's office, even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons. ²Thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, as splendid adornments; ³and thou shalt give command to all who are gifted, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom,^a that they make Aaron's garments to consecrate him, that he may minister to me in the priest's office. ⁴And these are the garments which they shall make: a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe,^b and a tunic of checker work, a turban and a sash; thus they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister to me in the priest's office. ⁵They shall use thread of gold, and violet, and purple, and red cloth, and fine linen.

The High Priest.—From the days of Solomon a chief priest was ever to be found, except during the Bab. exile, at the head of the Jerusalem priesthood. The names of some of the pre-exilic officials are known: Zadok, Jehoida and Hilkiah. Their title appears in the later pre-exilic literature to have always been *chief priest*. The same designation is used in the Holiness Code. The title *high priest* is peculiar to the post-exilic priestly literature, and is suggestive of the exalted civil and religious authority exercised by the high priests who reigned over the sacred temple and the Jewish community that gathered about it. The exile brought the religious leaders of the Jewish race into close contact with the Babylonians and Egyptians among whom the high priests enjoyed similar commanding authority. It is probable, therefore, that many of the elements in the later Jewish regulations regarding the high priest were suggested by the example of these powerful nations.

§ 169 The high priest was in later Judaism the representative of the Heb. kings, as well as the head and crown of the hierarchy. His costume when officiating as the high priest of the nation was correspondingly regal. Each article of his clothing and adornment suggested its sacred symbolic meaning. The exact meaning of many of the Heb. words employed in the description is doubtful.

^a Ex. 28³ Lit., *wise of mind*.

^b Ex. 28⁴ Or, *mantle*.

Priestly Codes

Shoulder-cape

⁶They shall also make the ephod of gold, of violet, and purple, and red cloth, and fine twisted linen, with skillful workmanship.^c ⁷It shall have two shoulder-pieces fastened together, that it may be held together at the two ends.^d ⁸The skillfully wrought band, which is upon it, with which to gird it on, shall be of like workmanship and of the same piece with it, of gold, and violet, and purple, and red cloth, and fine twisted linen. ⁹Thou shalt also take two onyx stones^e and engrave on them the names of the sons of Israel: ¹⁰six of their names on the one stone, and the names of the remaining six on the other stone, in the order of their birth. ¹¹With the workmanship of an engraver in stone shalt thou engrave the two stones, with the names of the sons of Israel; thou shalt make them enclosed in settings of woven gold thread. ¹²Thou shalt fasten the two stones on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod, as stones of memorial for the Israelites; thus Aaron shall bear their names before Jehovah on his two shoulders as a memorial. ¹³Thou shalt also make settings of braided gold thread, ¹⁴and two chains of pure gold; like cords shalt thou make them, well twisted; and thou shalt attach the corded chains to the settings.

Jewelled breast-plate

¹⁵Thou shalt make a breastplate of judgment,^f skillfully wrought; of like workmanship with the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and purple, and violet, and fine twisted linen, shalt thou make it. ¹⁶It shall be square and folded double, a span long, and a span wide. ¹⁷Thou shalt insert in it a setting of stones, four rows of stones; a row of carnelian, topaz, and emerald shall be the first row; ¹⁸and the second row shall contain a ruby,^g a sapphire, and a jasper; ¹⁹and the third row a jacinth,^h an agate, and an amethyst; ²⁰and the fourth row a chrysalite,ⁱ and a beryl, and an onyx; they shall be interwoven with gold thread in their settings. ²¹The stones shall correspond to the names of the sons of Israel, twelve according to their names; as a seal is engraved with one's name, they shall stand for the twelve tribes. ²²Thou shalt make upon the breastplate cordlike chains, well twisted, of pure gold.^j ²³Thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt attach the two rings at the two ends of the breastplate. ²⁴Then thou shalt put the two corded chains of gold in the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. ²⁵And the other two ends of the corded chains thou shalt attach to the two settings, thus sewing them to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod at the front of it. ²⁶Thou shalt also make two rings of gold, and attach them at the two ends of the breastplate, at the inner edge of it, which is toward the side facing the ephod.^k ²⁷Thou shalt also make two rings of

^c Ex. 28⁶ Lit., *the work of a skillful workman*.

^d Ex. 28⁷ The text is not clear.

^e Ex. 28⁹ Or, *beryl*, or *malachite*. Some gem, but just what kind is uncertain.

^f Ex. 28¹⁵ Or, *pouch to hold the oracle*.

^g Ex. 28¹⁸ Or, *carbuncle* . . . *onyx*.

^h Ex. 28¹⁹ Or, *amber*, or *carbuncle*.

ⁱ Ex. 28²⁰ Or, *yellow jasper*, . . . *onyx* . . . *jasper*.

^j Ex. 28²² Possibly a gloss; it is unnecessary after ¹⁴.

^k Ex. 28²²⁻³⁰ The Gk. has a shorter and variant text for 22-30, omitting 23, 26-28, and 26a, placing ²⁹ before ²⁴, and omitting all mention of rings. The Gk. also represents the breast-plate as suspended by two corded chains. Neither the Heb. or Gk. are satisfactory. Behind both lies apparently a description of the breastplate hung by golden chains fastened to it, with

Priestly Codes

gold, and attach them to the two shoulder-pieces of the ephod underneath, at the front of it, close to the place of joining, above the skillfully wrought band of the ephod. ²⁸The breastplate shall be secured by its rings to the rings of the ephod with a violet cord, so that it will be over the skillfully woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate may not hang loose from the ephod. ²⁹Aaron shall bear the names of the Israelites in the breastplate of judgment upon his heart, when he goeth in to the holy place, as a memorial before Jehovah continually. ³⁰Thou shalt put inside the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim;¹ that they may be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before Jehovah; thus Aaron shall bear the judicial decisions of the Israelites upon his heart before Jehovah continually.

³¹Thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of violet. ³²There shall be Robe an opening at the top,^m in the middle of it, with woven work about the opening, as in the case of a coat of mail,ⁿ that it be not torn. ³³On the lower edge of it thou shalt make pomegranates of violet, and purple, and red, round about the border of it; and bells^o of gold between them round about, ³⁴a golden bell and a pomegranate, on the border of the robe round about. ³⁵And Aaron shall wear it while ministering; and the sound of it shall be heard when he goeth in to the holy place before Jehovah, and when he cometh out, that he die not.

³⁶Thou shalt make a diadem of pure gold and engrave on it, **HOLY TO** Dia-
dem or
mitre **JEHOVAH.** ³⁷Thou shalt attach to it a violet cord to secure it to the turban; at the front of the turban shall it be. ³⁸It shall be upon Aaron's forehead, and Aaron shall be responsible for the holy things, which the Israelites consecrate, for all their holy gifts; it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before Jehovah. ³⁹Thou shalt weave the tunic of fine linen in checker work; and thou shalt make a turban of fine linen, and thou shalt make a sash of embroidered work.

²⁹ ²⁹And the holy garments of Aaron shall be for his sons after him, in Rules
for use which to be anointed and installed. ³⁰Seven days shall the son who becometh high priest in his place put them on, when he cometh into the tent of meeting to minister in the holy place.

their other ends made fast to the settings on the shoulder-pieces. The Heb. of ²⁵ makes the settings separate from the shoulder-pieces, thus differing from the earlier description. This may be accounted for by supposing that the reference to the onyx stones, with their inscriptions corresponding to the twelve stones in the breastplate, is a later addition. Otherwise the Heb. is fairly consistent and intelligible.

¹ Ex. 28³⁰ Lit., *the lights and the perfections*. For the earlier oracular use of these, cf. I Sam. 14⁴¹. ⁴² (Gk.), Vol. II, § 7. Originally they appear to have been two stones used in casting the sacred lot to determine the divine will. Possibly they were still employed by the high priest in the same way; or they may have been simply worn by him when rendering sacred decisions, as symbols of his divine authority.

^m Ex. 28³² Or, *there shall be an opening for the head*.

ⁿ Ex. 28³² Lit., *like the opening of a coat of mail*.

^o Ex. 28³³ These bells are probably a survival from a more primitive period when they were deemed necessary to keep away the evil spirits.

§ 170. Ceremonial Cleanliness, Lev. 21¹⁰⁻¹⁵, 10^s, ⁹*Holiness Code*

Limitations

Lev. 21 ¹⁰The priest who is chief among his brethren, on whose head the anointing oil has been poured, and who has been installed, so as to put on the garments,^p shall not unbind his head^q or rend his clothes, ¹¹nor shall he go in to any dead body, or defile himself for his father or for his mother; ¹²neither shall he go out of the sanctuary nor profane the sanctuary of his God; for the consecration imparted by the anointing oil of his God is upon him: I am Jehovah.

Marriage

¹³He shall take a virgin as his wife. ¹⁴A widow, a divorced woman, or a dishonored woman, or a harlot, such he shall not take; but a virgin of his own father's kin shall he take as his wife, ¹⁵that he may not make his descendants dishonored among his father's kin: I am Jehovah who sanctifieth him.

Priestly Codes

No intoxicants

Lev. 10 ⁸Jehovah gave this command to Aaron, ⁹Drink no wine or strong drink, either thou or thy sons, when ye go into the tent of meeting, lest ye die; this shall be a statute forever throughout your generations.

§ 171. Duties, Lev. 16^{32-34a} [1-31], Ex. 28^{29, 30, 30¹⁰}, Lev. 6¹⁹⁻²², Ex. 30^{7, 8}

Priestly Codes

On the day of atonement

Lev. 16 ³²The high priest, who shall be anointed and installed as priest in his father's place, shall make the atonement, and shall put on the holy

§ 170 Because of his superlatively sacred office and functions, especial sanctity was required of the high priest: he must always marry only a virgin and was absolutely debarred from coming into contact with a corpse, even though it be of his nearest kinsmen. This regulation appears to have applied also to the pre-exilic chief priests, as its presence in the Holiness Code suggests.

^p Lev. 21¹⁰ This is perhaps a later gloss.

^q Lev. 21¹⁰ *I. e.*, remove his turban.

§ 171 The duties of the high priest as prescribed by the O.T. law, consisted simply in making the annual offering within the temple on the great day of atonement; for the details of this law cf. § 221. He was also under obligation to care for the lamps in the temple, to provide for the daily morning and evening sacrifice, cf. § 208, and to furnish the special daily offering for himself and the priests. Josephus states that the high priest officiated in person only on the feasts and sabbaths, *Ant.* III, 2⁹⁷. From Nu. 27²¹ it may also be inferred that, as in the pre-exilic times, he had charge of the sacred oracle. As a matter of fact the high priest was responsible for the organization and direction of the entire ritual and temple corps.

Ben Sira has preserved a vivid and highly colored picture of a certain high priest, Simon of the Greek period, 50^s, 6, 11-21. The occasion was probably the service on the day of atonement.

⁵*How glorious was he when he looked forth from the temple,
At his coming forth out of the sanctuary!*

⁶*As the morning star in the midst of a cloud,
As the full moon on the day of the passover feast!*

¹¹*When he put on the robe of glory,
And clothed himself with the splendid garments
And ascended to the holy altar,*

He made glorious the precincts of the sanctuary.

¹²*And when he received the portions from the priests' hands,
Himself also standing by the altar-hearth,
His brethren as a garland round about him,
He was as a young cedar on Mount Lebanon,*

Priestly Codes

linen garments; ³³and he shall make atonement for the holy sanctuary; and he shall make atonement for the tent of meeting, and for the altar; and he shall make atonement for the priests, and for all the people of the assembly. ^{34a}And this shall be an everlasting statute for you, that atonement be made for the Israelites because of all their sins once every year.

Ex. 28 ²⁹Aaron shall bear the names of the Israelites in the breastplate of judgment upon his heart, when he goeth in to the holy place, as a memorial before Jehovah continually. ³⁰Thou shalt put inside the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim; that they may be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before Jehovah; thus Aaron shall bear the judicial decisions of the Israelites upon his heart before Jehovah continually.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Ex. 30 ¹⁰Aaron shall make atonement on the horns of the altar of incense once a year; with the blood of the sin-offering for atonement; once a year shall he make atonement upon it throughout your generations; it is most holy to Jehovah.

Lev. 6 ¹⁹Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ^r ²⁰This is the offering of Aaron Daily
offer-
ings and of his sons, which they shall offer to Jehovah on the day when he is anointed: * a tenth of an ephah of fine meal as a cereal-offering regularly, half of it in the morning, and half of it in the evening. ²¹On a flat plate it shall be prepared with oil; when it is soaked, he shall^t bring it in. He shall break in pieces^u the cereal-offering and shall offer it as an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ²²The anointed priest from among Aaron's descend-

-
- And as stems of palm trees they encompassed him about,*
¹³*All the sons of Aaron in their glory,*
With Jehovah's burnt-offering in their hands,
In the presence of all the congregation of Israel,
¹⁴*Until he had finished the service at the altar,*
And the offering to the Most High, the Almighty.
¹⁵*He stretched out his hand to the cup,*
And poured out the blood of the grape;
He poured it out at the foot of the altar,
A sweet-smelling savor to the Most High, the King of all.
¹⁶*Then shouted the sons of Aaron,*
They blew on the trumpets of beaten work,
They blew and sent forth a mighty blast,
As a remembrance before the Most High.
¹⁷*Then all the people together hasted,*
They fell down with their faces to the ground,
To worship their Lord, the Almighty, God Most High.
¹⁸*The singers also praised him with their voices;*
In the whole house was there made sweet melody.
¹⁹*And the people besought the Lord Most High,*
In prayer before him who is merciful,
Until the service at the altar was ended;
And his due had been rendered to him.
²⁰*Then the high priest went down and lifted up his hands,*
Over the whole congregation of the Israelites
To give blessing to the Lord with his lips,
And to glory in his name.
²¹*And he bowed himself down the second time,*
To pronounce the blessing from the Most High.

^r Lev. 6¹⁹ Heb. 6¹².

^s Lev. 6²⁰ This clause is inconsistent with the last half of the vs. and is evidently a gloss.

^t Lev. 6²¹ Heb., *thou shalt*, a scribal error due to the misreading of the previous verb.

^u Lev. 6²¹ Syr., *thou shalt break it in pieces*. The Heb. is corrupt, and the rendering given is not certain

Supplemental Priestly Codes

ants, who shall minister in his place, shall offer it; all of it shall be burnt as an everlasting due to Jehovah.

Incense
and
lamps

Ex. 30 ⁷On the altar of incense Aaron shall burn incense of sweet spices; each morning, when he taketh care of the lamps, he shall burn it. ⁸When Aaron setteth the lamps in place towards evening, he shall burn it as a perpetual incense before Jehovah throughout your generations.

E

REGULATIONS REGARDING CEREMONIAL CLEANLINESS

I

FOOD

§ 172. Clean and Unclean Animals, Birds and Insects, Dt. 14³⁻²⁰,

Lev. 20²⁵, 26, 11¹⁻²³, 26, 27, 29, 30, 41-44a, 44b-47

Deuteronomic Codes

Animals
suitable
for
food

Dt. 14 ³Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing. ⁴These are the beasts which ye may eat: the ox, the sheep, the goat, ⁵the hart, the gazelle, the roebuck, the wild goat, the addax,^a the antelope, and the mountain sheep. ⁶And every beast that parteth the hoof and cleaveth the cleft of the two hoofs and cheweth the cud^b among the beasts, that ye may eat. ⁷Never-

Regulations Regarding Ceremonial Cleanliness.—An exalted conception of the holiness and perfection of the Deity underlies all the ceremonial laws. A holy and perfect God must be worshipped by a holy and perfect people. A prophet like Isaiah defined holiness and perfection in moral terms, cf. Is. 6; but Israel's priests, in common with those of Babylonia, where much the same ceremonial laws obtained, sought to give objective and concrete expression to the principle of purity and perfection. As has been already noted, the Bab. exile gave a great impetus to this tendency, which, however, is traceable to the very beginnings of human history. The same general distinctions between clean and unclean food, the same general conceptions of defilement through contact with things ceremonially unclean, and the same emphasis upon the special purity of the priesthood were shared in common by the early Semitic peoples. Natural aversion at once explains why many things, as for example men afflicted with loathsome leprosy, were classified as unclean. All that suggested death or corruption had no place in the presence of the Holy One. Possibly an intuitive sense also led the Israelites to place certain diseases and unsanitary practices under the ban. In some cases primitive totemistic ideas doubtless underlie even the later laws.

§ 172 The belief in the sanctity of the blood, which was regarded as the life of the animal, evidently explains why many of these animals were classified as unclean. Since blood was sacred to the Deity, no Israelite was allowed to eat it. Hence all animals mangled or dying a natural death, and therefore retaining their blood in their veins were unfit for food. The same was true of all beasts and birds of prey. Scavengers were classified as unclean for the same reason and because of their loathsome habits. These were excluded by the law concerning non-ruminating animals. The basis of the prohibition against ruminating animals which do not part the cleft hoof is not so clear. The camel may have been thus excluded either because of its great value, or more probably, because it was regarded as sacred among the early Arabs. The hare and the rock-badger may have been prohibited because their flesh or habits were repulsive to the Hebrews. The principle of natural aversion is evidently operative in the case of fish and insects, explaining why the eel and all swarming things are placed under the ban. The exception in the case of locusts is clearly a concession to prevailing usage. Evidently both the list in Dt. 14 and its close parallel in Lev. 11 are based on still earlier usage and may well be derived from an earlier written source. Possibly the passage in Lev. 11 originally belonged to the Holiness Code. It has been supplemented in the latter part of the chapter

^{26-44a}, for these vss. are in part duplicates of ¹⁻²³.

^a Dt. 14⁵ Gk., pygarg, followed by the English versions.

^b Dt. 14⁶ Lit., *bringeth up the cud*.

Deuteronomic Codes

theless these ye shall not eat of those that chew the cud or of those that part the cleft hoof: the camel, the hare, and the rock-badger, because they chew the cud but do not part the hoof; they are unclean to you. ⁸And the swine, because he parteth the hoof but cheweth not the cud, he is unclean to you. Of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcasses ye shall not touch.

⁹These ye may eat of all that are in the waters: whatever hath fins and scales may ye eat; ¹⁰and whatever hath not fins and scales ye shall not eat; it is unclean to you.

¹¹Of all clean birds ye may eat. ¹²But these are they of which ye shall not eat: the griffon-vulture,^c the bearded-eagle, the ospray, ¹³the falcon,^d and the kite after its kind, ¹⁴and every raven after its kind, ¹⁵and the ostrich, the night-hawk, the sea-mew, and the hawk after its kind, ¹⁶the little owl, the great owl, the horned owl,^e ¹⁷the pelican, the carrion-vulture, the cormorant, ¹⁸the stork, and the heron after its kind, and the hoopoe and the bat.

¹⁹And all winged swarming creatures are unclean to you; they shall not be eaten. ²⁰Of all clean winged creatures ye may eat.

Holiness Code

Lev. 20 ²⁵Ye shall make a distinction between the clean beast and the unclean, and between the unclean fowl and the clean; and ye shall not make yourselves abominable with beast, or by bird, or by anything with which the ground teemeth, which I have distinguished for you as unclean. ²⁶But ye shall be holy to me; for I, Jehovah, am holy, and have distinguished you from the peoples, that ye should be mine.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 11 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses and Aaron: ²Say to the Israelites, 'These are the living things which ye may eat among all the beasts that are on the earth: ³whatever parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft of the hoofs, that cheweth the cud among the beasts, that ye may eat. ⁴Nevertheless these shall ye not eat of those that chew the cud, or of those that part the hoof: the camel, because he cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, he is unclean to you; ⁵and the rock-badger, because he cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, he is unclean to you; ⁶and the hare, because she cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, she is unclean to you; ⁷and the swine, because he parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft of the hoof, but cheweth not the cud, he is unclean to you. ⁸Of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcasses ye shall not touch; they are unclean to you.

⁹These ye may eat of all that are in the waters: whatever in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, hath fins and scales, ye may eat. ¹⁰But all

^c Dt. 14¹² The Heb. word poetically translated, *eagle*, clearly refers to the griffon-vulture (cf. Mi. 1¹⁶, Job 39³⁰, Mt. 24²⁸), which is exceedingly common in Palestine.

^d Dt. 14¹³ So Gk. and Sam., supported by the close parallel in Lev. 11. A scribal corruption has crept into the Heb.

^e Dt. 14¹⁶ Gk., *water hen*, or *ibis*.

Priestly Codes

that have not fins and scales, in the seas, and in the rivers, of all that move in the waters, and of all the living creatures that are in the waters, they are detestable to you, ¹¹and they shall be detestable^f to you; ye shall not eat of their flesh, and their carcasses ye shall detest. ¹²Whatever in the waters hath no fins nor scales is detestable to you.

Birds ¹³And these ye shall detest among the birds; they shall not be eaten, they are: the griffon-vulture, and the bearded-vulture, the ospray, ¹⁴the kite, and the falcon after its kind, ¹⁵every raven after its kind, ¹⁶and the ostrich, the night-hawk, the sea-mew, and the hawk after its kind, ¹⁷and the little owl, the cormorant, the great owl, ¹⁸the horned owl, the pelican, the carrion vulture, ¹⁹the stork, the heron after its kind, the hoopoe and the bat.

Small animals and insects ²⁰All winged swarming things that go upon all fours are detestable to you. ²¹Yet these may ye eat of all winged swarming things that go upon all fours, which have legs above their feet, with which to leap upon the earth; ²²even these of them ye may eat: the locust after its kind, and the bald locust after its kind, and the cricket after its kind, and the grasshopper after its kind. ²³But all winged swarming things, which have four feet, are an abomination to you.

^{44b}Neither shall ye defile yourselves with any kind of swarming thing that moveth upon the earth. ⁴⁵For I am Jehovah that brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy.

Résumé ⁴⁶This is the law of the beast, and of the bird, and of every living creature that moveth in the waters, and of every creature that swarmeth upon the earth, ⁴⁷to make a distinction between the unclean and the clean, and between the living thing that may be eaten and the living thing that may not be eaten.^g

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Animals **Lev. 11** ²⁶Every beast which parteth the hoof, but cleaveth not the cleft of the foot, nor cheweth the cud, is unclean to you; every one who toucheth them shall be unclean. ²⁷And whatever goeth upon its paws, of all beasts that go on all fours, is unclean to you; whoever toucheth their carcass shall be unclean until evening; they are unclean to you.

Small animals and insects ²⁹And these are they which are unclean to you among the swarming creatures that swarm upon the earth: the weasel, the mouse, the great lizard after its kind, ³⁰and the gecko, the land-crocodile, and the chameleon. ⁴¹And every swarming creature that swarmeth upon the earth is detestable; it shall not be eaten. ⁴²Whatever goeth on the belly, and whatever goeth on all fours, or whatever hath many feet, even all swarming creatures that swarm upon the earth, ye shall not eat, for they are detestable. ⁴³Ye shall not make yourselves detestable with any swarming creatures that swarmeth, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean with them, that ye should be defiled thereby. ^{44a}For I am Jehovah your God: sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy; for I am holy.^g

^f Lev. 11¹¹ Lit., a detestation.

§ 173. Blood and Fat, Dt. 12²³⁻²⁵ [16, 15²³], Lev. 19^{26a}, 17¹⁰⁻¹⁴, 3¹⁷, 7^{23b-25} [26], Gen. 9⁴

Deuteronomic Code

Dt. 12 ²³Firmly resist the temptation^g to eat the blood; for the blood is the life, and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh. ²⁴Thou shalt not eat it; thou shalt pour it out on the earth as water.^h ²⁵Thou shalt not eat it, that it may go well with thee and with thy children after thee, in case thou doest that which is right in the sight of Jehovah.

Reason
for not
eating
blood

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ^{26a}Ye shall not eat anything with the blood.

17 ¹⁰If any man of the house of Israel or of the aliens residing among them, eateth of any blood, I will set my face against him and will cut him off from among his people. ¹¹For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement by means of the lifeⁱ in it. ¹²Therefore I have said to the Israelites, None of you shall eat blood, neither shall any alien residing among you eat blood.

Prohi-
bition
univer-
sal

¹³And if any one of the Israelites, or of the aliens residing among them, taketh in hunting any beast or bird that may be eaten; he shall pour out its blood and cover it with dust. ¹⁴For the life of all flesh is contained in the blood; therefore I have said to the Israelites, Ye shall not eat of the blood of flesh; for the life of all flesh is its blood; whoever eateth of it shall be cut off.

Blood
to be
poured
out

Priestly Codes

Lev. 3 ¹⁷It shall be a perpetual statute throughout your generations in all your dwellings, that ye shall eat neither fat nor blood.

No fat
nor
blood
to be
eaten

7 ^{23b}Ye shall eat no fat, neither of ox, or sheep, or goat. ²⁴And the fat

§ 173 The belief that the blood represented the individual sentient life of man or animal or bird was widely held in antiquity, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 178, 179. It originated with the observation that when the blood of a living being was poured out life ceased and only the cold clay remained. It was this belief that led many primitive people to drink the blood of the slain animal that they might thereby themselves receive the life and strength of the victim.

The Hebrews, however, believed that the life, of which the blood was the symbol, came from Jehovah and therefore was sacred to him. The fat, because of its resemblance to the blood, was likewise regarded as sacred. Hence the blood was poured out upon the ground or upon the altar which in ancient times was believed to contain the spirit of the Deity, that the life which it contained might return to the God who gave it. The fat was also usually consumed with fire on the altar.

The Heb. belief in the sanctity of the blood was evidently very old, as the passage in I Sam. 14³²⁻⁴⁵ indicates: the sin of the hungry warriors in eating the slain animals together with the blood is corrected by rearing an altar on which the blood could be first presented to Jehovah. Until the Deuteronomic code was promulgated, apparently every animal killed for food was slaughtered at some local sanctuary, that the blood might be poured out to Jehovah beside an altar. In centralizing all worship in Jerusalem, the Deuteronomic lawgivers were obliged to provide for the slaughter of animals simply for food. In this case the sacrificial element disappears. Cf. further *Sacrificial Offerings* under § 195. These laws throw much light upon the psychological ideas of the early Hebrews.

^g Dt. 12²³ Lit., *be firm not to eat*.

^h Dt. 12²⁴ Dt. 12¹⁶ is practically a repetition of this vs.

ⁱ Lev. 17¹¹ Lit., *soul, i. e.*, the individual sentient life of each man and animal.

Priestly Codes

of that which dieth a natural death, and the fat of that which is torn by beasts may be put to any other use, but ye shall in no case eat of it.

²⁵For whoever eateth the fat of any animal, of which men offer an offering made by fire to Jehovah, shall be cut off from his people.

Gen. 9 ⁴Flesh in which is the life, that is, its blood, shall ye not eat.

§ 174. **Flesh of Animals Torn by Beasts or Dying a Natural Death,**

Ex. 22³¹, Dt. 14^{21a}, Lev. 22⁸, 7²⁴, 17^{15, 16}

Primitive Codes

No
meat
torn

Ex. 22 ³¹Holy men shall ye be to me; therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn by beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs.

Deuteronomic Codes

Or of
animals
dying a
natural
death

Dt. 14 ^{21a}Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth a natural death.

Holiness Code

Lev. 22 ⁸That which dieth a natural death, or is torn by beasts, a priest shall not eat so as to be made unclean by it: I am Jehovah.

Priestly Codes

Nor
the fat

Lev. 7 ²⁴The fat of that which dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn by beasts, may be put to any other use, but ye shall in no case eat of it.

Method
of puri-
fication

17 ¹⁵Every person who eateth that which dieth a natural death, or that which is torn by beasts, whether he be a native-born or a resident alien, shall wash his clothes and bathe himself in water and be unclean until evening. ¹⁶If he doth not wash his clothes and bathe his body, he shall bear the consequences of his iniquity.

§ 175. **Meat Ceremonially Unclean, Lev. 7^{19c}**

Priestly Codes

Pol-
luted
meat

Lev. 7 ^{19a}Flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire.

§ 174 Defilement by contact with unclean animals and the danger of eating the blood with the flesh appear to be the two ideas underlying these laws. Although the plural, *ye*, instead of the ordinary, *thou*, possibly indicates that the regulation in Ex. 22³¹ is from a later editor, the law itself seems to be one of the oldest ceremonial commands in the O.T.

§ 175 The belief that ceremonial uncleanness could be communicated by contact is accepted as a basal principle in the priestly laws, cf. also Hag. 2¹³.

§ 176. Leavened Bread, Ex. 34^{25a} [23¹⁸], 12¹⁸⁻²⁰*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 34 ^{25a}Thou shalt not offer the blood of my passover sacrifice with leavened bread.

No
leaven
at the
pass-
over

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Ex. 12 ¹⁸On the fourteenth day of the first month in the evening, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the evening of the twenty-first day of the month. ¹⁹Seven days shall no leaven be found in your houses; for whoever eateth that which is leavened shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a resident alien, or a native-born. ²⁰Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your dwellings ye shall eat unleavened bread.

§ 177. Fruit of Young Trees, Lev. 19²³⁻²⁵*Holiness Code*

Lev. 19 ²³When ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted any kind of trees for food, ye shall treat its fruit as uncircumcised; three years it shall be held by you to be uncircumcised; it shall not be eaten. ²⁴But in the fourth year all its fruit shall be holy, a praise offering to Jehovah. ²⁵And in the fifth year ye may eat of its fruit, that it may yield to you its increase: I am Jehovah your God.

First-
fruit
sacred
to Je-
hovah

§ 178. Rules Regarding the Eating of Meat, Ex. 34^{26b}, Dt. 12 [15], 20-27, Lev. 17³⁻⁹, 19⁵⁻⁸, 22¹⁰⁻¹⁶, 7¹⁵⁻¹⁸*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 34 ^{26b}Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

Boiling
a kid

§ 176 The use of unleavened bread was limited to the passover feast or originally to the agricultural spring festival, cf. note § 212. Amos speaks of the use of leavened bread in connection with the thanksgiving sacrifices at Bethel, 4⁵. Three explanations have been offered to explain the use of unleavened bread: (1) that it is a survival of the nomadic usage when leaven was rarely employed; (2) because yeast represents fermentation and therefore is a symbol of decay; (3) because at the early spring festival the bread was made from the first-ripe grain without waiting for the yeast to act. The latter may well have given rise to the custom and the second explains its perpetuation and emphasis in later laws.

§ 177 The first and best products of fruit trees, as well as the first-born of the herd and flock and the firstfruits of the field, were consecrated to Jehovah. Since the fruit of the earliest years was not the best, the law provides that that of the fourth year shall be brought as Jehovah's part. That the first to be used might go to the Divine King, all earlier fruits are declared ceremonially unfit for food.

§ 178 From earliest times the slaying of an animal among the Hebrews was regarded as a sacrificial act. The blood and fat at least were given to the Deity. It was easy to enforce this law when there were many local sanctuaries and when animals were rarely killed for food except at the religious festivals. When the Deuteronomic lawgivers centralized the worship in Jerusalem, they were obliged, as has been noted, to modify the ancient usage. The Holiness Code and later priestly codes, however, retain the early sacrificial idea, but provide that all animals must be slain at the temple and under the direction of the priests. These variant regulations illustrate clearly the revolutionizing character of the Deuteronomic legislation and the tenacity of custom and the tendency of the later priestly lawgivers to bow to popular usage. The law of Lev. 17³⁻⁷ also reveals the harmonizing work of the later priestly editor, who aimed to bring the original regulation into harmony with the wilderness point of view, cf. *Introd.*, p. 46.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 12 ²⁰When Jehovah thy God shall enlarge thy territory, as he hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh, because thy soul desireth to eat it; thou mayest eat as thou mayest desire. ²¹If the place in which Jehovah thy God shall choose to put his name be too far from thee, thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which Jehovah hath given thee, as I have commanded thee; and thou mayest eat in thine own home, as thou mayest desire. ²²Even as the gazelle and as the hart is eaten, so thou shalt eat of it: the unclean and the clean may both eat of it.

²³Only be sure that thou eat not the blood, for the blood is the life, and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh. ²⁴Thou shalt not eat it; thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water. ²⁵Thou shalt not eat it; that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, when thou shalt do that which is right in the sight of Jehovah.

²⁶Only thou shalt take thy holy things which thou hast, and thy vows, and go to the place which Jehovah shall choose; ²⁷and thou shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of Jehovah thy God; and the blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar of Jehovah thy God; and thou shalt eat the flesh.

Holiness Code

Lev. 17 ³If there be any man of the house of Israel who killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, either within or without the camp ⁴and doth not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting, to present it as an offering to Jehovah before the dwelling of Jehovah; blood-guilt shall be imputed to that man; he hath shed blood, and that man shall be cut off from among his people, ⁵in order that the Israelites may bring their sacrifices, which they are wont to sacrifice in the open field,^j to Jehovah, at the entrance of the tent of meeting, to the priest, and sacrifice them as sacrifices of peace-offerings to Jehovah. ⁶And the priest shall dash the blood against the altar of Jehovah at the entrance of the tent of meeting, and burn the fat as an odor pleasing to Jehovah.

⁷And they shall no more offer their sacrifices to the satyrs,^k which they faithlessly worship. This shall be an everlasting statute for them throughout their generations. ⁸If there be any man of the house of Israel, or of the aliens who reside among them, who offereth a burnt-offering or sacrifice, ⁹and doth not bring it to the door of the tent of meeting, to sacrifice it to Jehovah, that man shall be cut off from his people.

¹⁹⁵When ye offer a sacrifice of peace-offerings to Jehovah, ye shall offer it so that ye may be accepted. ⁶It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it or on the following day; and if any of it remain until the third day, it shall be burnt with fire. ⁷And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is refuse; it shall not be accepted; ⁸but every one who eateth it shall be held guilty, because he hath profaned Jehovah's holy thing, and that person shall be cut off from his people.

^j Lev. 17⁵ The Heb. repeats, *that they may bring*.

^k Lev. 17⁷ Cf. Is. 13²¹, 34¹⁴, II Chr. 11¹⁵ where they figure as demons living in lonely places.

Holiness Code

22 ¹⁰No laymen^l shall eat of the holy thing;^m a settler residing with the priest or a hired servant shall not eat of that which is holy. ¹¹But a slave, whom a priest buyeth for money, shall eat of it, and such as are born in his house, may eat of his bread. ¹²And if a priest's daughter be married to a layman, she shall not eat of the special gifts of the holy things. ¹³But if a priest's daughter be a widow, or divorced, and have no child, and hath returned to her father's house, as in her youth, she may eat of her father's bread; but no layman may eat of it. ¹⁴And if a man eat of the holy thing inadvertently, he shall add a fifth part to it, and shall give the holy thing to the priest. ¹⁵The priests also shall not profane the holy things of the Israelites, which they offer to Jehovah, ¹⁶so as to cause them to bear the iniquity that bringeth guilt, when they eat their holy things: I am Jehovah who sanctifieth them.

Holy parts belonging to the priests

Priestly Codes

Lev. 7 ¹⁵The flesh of any man's peace-offerings, which are presented as a thanksgiving, shall be eaten on the day he offereth it; he shall leave none of it until morning. ¹⁶But if the sacrifice which he offereth be a votive offering or a voluntary-offering, it shall be eaten on the day that he offereth his sacrifice; and on the following day that which remaineth of it may be eaten; ¹⁷but that which yet remaineth of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day must be burnt with fire. ¹⁸If any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace-offerings be eaten on the third day,ⁿ it shall not be accepted, neither shall it be credited to him who offereth it; it shall be refuse and the person who eateth of it shall be held guilty.

Eating the sacrificial food

II

CAUSES AND PURIFICATION OF CEREMONIAL UNCLEANNESS

§ 179. Loathsome Diseases, Dt. 24⁸, Lev. 22^{4a}, 13, 14³³⁻⁵³, 1-32, 54-57, 15^{2b}, 3, 13-15
[16-18, 25-33, Nu. 51-3]

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 24 ⁸Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou carefully observe and do just as the priests the Levites shall instruct you; as I commanded them, so shall ye take heed to do.

Priestly regulation of leprosy

^l Lev. 22¹⁰ Lit., one not belonging to the priest's family.

^m Lev. 22¹⁰ I. e., the part of the sacrificial offering which had first been presented to Jehovah and then went to the priest.

ⁿ Lev. 7¹⁸ In a tropical country meat was in danger of becoming putrid on the third day. In keeping with their usual method, the later priests guarded against this possibility, not by leaving the decision to the individual offerer, but by fixing a definite date.

Causes and Purification of Ceremonial Uncleanness.—The tendency to increase the list of things which would produce ceremonial defilement is already marked in the priestly codes, although it reached its culmination in the laws of later Judaism. The roots of this tendency are traceable in earliest Semitic thought. Many of the strange provisions for ceremonial cleansing are also clearly inherited from Israel's Semitic ancestors.

§ 179 Lepers are classed as unclean because the disease is so repulsive and incurable. It was also popularly regarded as a mark of divine judgment, cf. Job, and, hence contact with the one thus smitten was doubly defiling.

Two kinds of real leprosy are still found in Palestine, (1) the *anæsthetic elephantiasis*

Holiness Code

Priest dis-qualified
 Lev. 22 ^{4a}No one of the descendants of Aaron who is a leper, or hath a discharge may eat of the holy things until he become clean.

Priestly Codes

Investigation of leprosy by the priest
 Lev. 13 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses and Aaron, ²When a man shall have in his skin a rising, or an eruption or a bright spot, and it become in his skin the mark^a of leprosy, then he shall be brought to Aaron the priest, or to one of his sons the priests, ³and the priest shall look at the plague in his skin; and if the hair in the plague be turned white, and the plague be seen to be deeper than his skin, it is the plague of leprosy; and the priest shall look at him, and pronounce him unclean. ⁴But if the bright spot in his skin be white and be seen to be no deeper than the skin, and the hair be not turned white, then the priest shall confine *him who hath* the plague seven days; ⁵and the priest shall look at him the seventh day, and if in his eyes the plague be stayed and hath not spread in the skin, then the priest shall confine him seven days more; ⁶and the priest shall look at him again the seventh day; and if the plague be dim, and hath not spread in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him clean, it is an eruption; and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean. ⁷But if the eruption spread in the skin, after he hath showed himself to the priest for his cleansing, he shall show himself to the priest again, ⁸and the priest shall look; and if the eruption hath spread in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean, it is leprosy.

Real and white leprosy
⁹When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought to the priest; ¹⁰and the priest shall look; and, if there be a white rising in the skin, and it have turned the hair white, and there be a raw, open sore in the rising, ¹¹it is an old leprosy in his skin and the priest shall pronounce him unclean; he shall not confine him, for he is unclean. ¹²And if the leprosy break out in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of *him who hath* the plague, from his head even to his feet, as far as the priest can see; ¹³then the priest shall look; and if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce *him* clean *who hath* the plague; it is all turned white;^b he is clean. ¹⁴But whenever raw flesh appeareth on him, he shall be unclean. ¹⁵And the priest shall look on the raw flesh, and pronounce him unclean; the raw flesh is unclean; it is

which first attacks the extremities with the result that the fingers and toes fall off at the joints. The limbs also gradually lose all sense of feeling as the disease gradually advances. Under proper care the malady may be kept partially in control and its victims have been known to live to an advanced age. More repulsive and malignant and common is the second type of leprosy, the *tubercular elephantiasis*, which first takes the form of red patches that later develop tubercles which in time ulcerate and eat far down into the flesh. The face and limbs swell, the eyes and tongue become affected and, at the end of about ten years, vital organs are attacked by the disease and death ensues. This is the form of leprosy referred to in Job 27. 8, 7⁵, 15, 16¹⁶ and is one of the most horrible and incurable of maladies. With these types of true leprosy the Hebrews associated certain skin diseases, as for example, white leprosy, which took the form of white scales that often extended over most of the body and then gradually peeled off and disappeared, when the disease had run its course. Certain kinds of mould or fungus growth in garments and houses were also, because of the points of similarity, classified with human leprosy.

^a Lev. 13² Lit., the mark left by a stroke. RV., *plague*. It is the mark left by some malign disease like leprosy.

^b Lev. 13¹³ Evidently the disease is the white leprosy, which in time left the patient well and sound.

Priestly Codes

leprosy. ¹⁶Or if the raw flesh change again, and turn white, then he shall come to the priest, ¹⁷and the priest shall look on him; and if the plague be turned white, then the priest shall pronounce *him* clean *who hath* the plague; he is clean.

¹⁸And when there is a boil in the skin of the body and it is healed, ¹⁹and in the place of the boil there is a white rising, or a bright, reddish-white spot, then it shall be shown to the priest, ²⁰and the priest shall look; and if the spot be seen to be lower than the skin, and the hair be turned white, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean; it is the plague of leprosy, it hath broken out in the boil. ²¹But if the priest look at it, and there be no white hairs in it and it be no lower than the skin, but be dim, then the priest shall confine him seven days; ²²and if it be then spread in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean; it is a plague. ²³But if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread, it is the scar of the boil; and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

²⁴Or when the flesh hath in the skin a burn caused by fire, and the sore of the burn become a bright spot, reddish-white or white, ²⁵then the priest shall look at it; and if the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and it appear to be deeper than the skin, it is leprosy that hath broken out in the burn, and the priest shall pronounce him unclean; it is the mark of leprosy. ²⁶But if the priest look at it, and there be no white hair in the bright spot, and it be no lower than the skin, but be dim, then the priest shall confine him seven days, ²⁷and the priest shall look at him the seventh day; if it be then spread in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean; it is the mark of leprosy. ²⁸But if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread in the skin, but be dim, it is the rising of the burn, and the priest shall pronounce him clean, for it is the scar of the burn.

²⁹And when a man or woman hath a mark on the head or on the beard, ³⁰the priest shall look at the mark; and if it appear to be deeper than the skin, and there be in it thin yellow hair, the priest shall pronounce him unclean; it is a scall,^c it is leprosy of the head or beard. ³¹And if the priest look on the mark of the scall, and it appear to be no deeper than the skin, and there be no black hair in it, the priest shall confine *him who hath* the mark of the scall seven days; ³²and on the seventh day the priest shall look at the mark, and if the scall be not spread, and there be no yellow hair in it, and the scall appear to be no deeper than the skin, ³³he shall shave himself, but the scall shall he not shave; and the priest shall confine *him who hath* the scall seven days more; ³⁴and on the seventh day the priest shall look at the scall, and if the scall be not spread in the skin, and appear to be no deeper than the skin, the priest shall pronounce him clean; and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean. ³⁵But if the scall spread in the skin after his cleansing, ³⁶the priest shall look at him, and if the scall be spread in the skin, the priest need not look for the yellow hair; he is unclean. ³⁷But if in his eyes the

^c Lev. 13³⁰ Probably a dry scale.

Priestly Codes

scall be stayed, and black hair be grown up in it, the scall is healed; he is clean, and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

A ³⁸And when a man or a woman hath in the skin bright spots, bright white
tetter spots, ³⁹the priest shall look; and if the bright spots in the skin be of a dull white, it is a tetter, it hath broken out in the skin; he is clean.

Mark ⁴⁰And if a man lose his hair from his head, he is bald; *yet* he is clean.
on a ⁴¹And if his hair be fallen off from the front part of his head, he is forehead-
bald *yet* he is clean. ⁴²But if there be on the bald head, or the bald fore-
spot head, a reddish-white mark, it is leprosy breaking out on his bald head, or his bald forehead. ⁴³Then the priest shall look upon him, and if the rising caused by the mark be reddish-white on his bald head, or on his bald forehead, like the appearance of leprosy in the skin, ⁴⁴he is a leprous man, he is unclean; the priest shall pronounce him unclean; his plague is on his head.

Obliga- ⁴⁵And when a leper hath the mark of leprosy upon him, his clothes shall be
tions of rent, and the hair of his head shall go loose, and he shall cover his upper lip,
lepers and cry, Unclean ! unclean !^d ⁴⁶All the days during which the mark is upon him he shall be unclean; *and since* he is unclean, he shall dwell alone; his dwelling shall be outside the camp.

Lep- ⁴⁷When the mark of leprosy is in a garment, whether it be a woolen garment,
rosy or a linen garment; ⁴⁸whether it be in the warp, or in the woof, of linen or of
spread- wool, either in a skin, or in anything made of skin; ⁴⁹if the mark be greenish
ing in a or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, or in the warp, or in the woof, or in
gar- anything of skin, it is the mark of leprosy, and shall be shown to the priest.
ment ⁵⁰And the priest shall look upon the mark and shut up *that which hath* the mark seven days : ⁵¹and he shall look on the mark on the seventh day; if the mark be spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in the skin, whatever be the purpose for which skin is used, the mark is that of malignant leprosy; it is unclean. ⁵²And he shall burn the garment, or the warp or the woof, whether it be of wool or of linen, or anything of skin, in which the mark is; for it is a malignant leprosy; it shall be burnt in the fire.

Per- ⁵³And if the priest shall look, and the mark be not spread in the garment,
manent either in the warp, or in the woof, or in anything of skin, ⁵⁴the priest shall
marks command that they wash the thing in which the plague is, and he shall shut it up seven days more : ⁵⁵and the priest shall look, after the mark is washed; and if the mark have not changed its color, and the mark be not spread, it is unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire; it is malignant, whether the bareness be within or without.

Disap- ⁵⁶But if the priest look, and the mark be dim after it hath been washed,
pear- he shall tear it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or
marks out of the woof; ⁵⁷and if it still appear in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in anything of skin, it is breaking out; thou shalt burn with fire that in which the mark is. ⁵⁸But if the mark disappear from the garment, either from the warp or the woof, or whatever thing of skin it be,

^d Lev. 13⁴⁵ *I. e.*, he shall assume the garb and rôle of a mourner.

Priestly Codes

when thou hast washed it, it shall be washed a second time, and shall be clean.

⁵⁹This is the law of the mark of leprosy in a garment of wool or linen, either in the warp, or the woof, or anything of skin, to determine when to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.

³³Jehovah said to Moses and Aaron,^e ³⁴When ye have come into the land of Lep-
Canaan, which I give to you as a possession, and I put the mark of leprosy on a house ^{leprosy in}
in the land of your possession; ³⁵then he who owneth the house shall come and say to a house
the priest: 'There seemeth to me to be a kind of mark in my house.' ³⁶And the priest
shall command the house to be emptied before he goeth in to examine the mark,
so that all that is in the house be not made unclean; and afterward the priest
shall go in to examine the house; ³⁷and he shall look at the mark; and if the mark
on the walls of the house be in greenish or reddish patches which appear to be
deeper than the surface of the wall, ³⁸the priest shall go out to the door of the
house, and shut up the house seven days. ³⁹And the priest shall come again on
the seventh day and shall look; and if the mark be spread in the walls of the
house, ⁴⁰the priest shall command that they take out the stones in which the
mark is, and cast them into an unclean place outside the city. ⁴¹Then he shall
cause the house to be scraped throughout inside, and they shall pour out the
mortar, that they scrape off, outside the city into an unclean place; ⁴²and they
shall take other stones, and put them in the place of those stones; and he shall take
other mortar, and shall plaster the house.

⁴³And if the mark break out again in the house, after he hath taken out the
stones, and after he hath scraped the house, and after it is plastered, ⁴⁴the priest
shall come in and look; and if the mark be spread in the house, it is a malignant
leprosy in the house; it is unclean. ⁴⁵And he shall break down the house, its stones,
and its timber, and all the mortar of the house; and he shall carry them out of the
city to an unclean place. ⁴⁶Moreover he who goeth into the house during the time
that it is shut up shall be unclean until evening. ⁴⁷And he who sleepeth in the
house shall wash his clothes; and he who eateth in the house shall wash his clothes.

⁴⁸But if the priest come in, and look, and find that the mark hath not spread
in the house, after the house was plastered; he shall pronounce the house clean,
because the mark hath disappeared. ⁴⁹And he shall take to cleanse the house
two birds, with cedar wood and scarlet, and hyssop: ⁵⁰and he shall kill one of the
birds in an earthen vessel over running water: ⁵¹and he shall take the cedar wood,
and the hyssop, and the scarlet, and the living bird, and dip them in the blood of
the slain bird, and in the running water, and sprinkle the house seven times; ⁵²and
he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird, and with the running water,
and with the living bird, and with the cedar wood, and with the hyssop, and with
the scarlet; ⁵³but he shall let the living bird go out of the city into the open field;
so he shall make atonement for the house, and it shall be clean.

14 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ²This shall be the law of the
leper in the day when he is cleansed; he shall be brought to the priest; ³and
the priest shall go out of the camp; and the priest shall look; and if the mark
of leprosy be healed in the leper, ⁴the priest shall command to take for him
who is to be cleansed two living clean birds, cedar wood, scarlet, and hyssop;
⁵and the priest shall command to kill one of the birds in an earthen vessel over
running water. ⁶He shall then take the living bird, the cedar wood, the
scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood
of the bird that was killed over the running water; ⁷and the blood he shall
sprinkle seven times upon him who is to be cleansed from the leprosy, and
shall pronounce him clean, and shall set free the living bird in the open field.
⁸And he who is to be cleansed shall wash his clothes, and shave off all

A ma-
lignant
type

Cere-
monial
cleans-
ing of a
leprous
house

Ritual
for the
cleans-
ing of a
leper

^e Lev. 14³³⁻⁵³ The contents, as well as the colophon in 54-57, indicate that this section belongs at the close of 13⁷. While it doubtless records a very ancient ritual, its literary style and allusions to the rite of atonement, ⁵³, indicate that it is a late addition.

Priestly Codes

his hair, and bathe himself in water; and he shall be clean; and after that he shall come into the camp, but shall dwell outside his tent seven days. ⁹And on the seventh day he shall shave off all the hair of his head and his beard and his eyebrows, even all his hair he shall shave off, and he shall wash his clothes, and shall bathe his flesh in water; then he shall be clean.

¹⁰And on the eighth day he shall take two male lambs without blemish, and one ewe-lamb a year old without blemish, and as a cereal-offering three-tenths of an *ephah* of fine meal mixed with oil, and one log^f of oil. ¹¹And the priest who cleanseth him shall set the man who is to be cleansed and these things before Jehovah, at the entrance of the tent of meeting. ¹²And the priest shall take one of the male lambs, and offer it with the log of oil as a guilt-offering, and wave them as a wave-offering before Jehovah; ¹³then he shall kill the male lamb in the place where they kill the sin-offering and the burnt-offering in the place of the sanctuary; for the guilt-offering like the sin-offering belongeth to the priest; it is most holy. ¹⁴And the priest shall take some of the blood of the guilt-offering, and shall put it on the tip of the right ear of him who is to be cleansed, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the great toe of his right foot. ¹⁵And the priest shall take some of the log of oil, and pour it into the palm of his own left hand; ¹⁶and the priest shall dip his right finger in the oil that is in his left hand, and shall sprinkle some of the oil with his finger seven times before Jehovah. ¹⁷And of the rest of the oil that is in his hand the priest shall put some on the tip of the right ear of him who is to be cleansed, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the great toe of his right foot, and upon the blood of the guilt-offering; ¹⁸and the rest of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put on the head of him who is to be cleansed. Thus the priest shall make atonement for him before Jehovah. ¹⁹And the priest shall offer the sin-offering, and make atonement for him who is to be cleansed because of his uncleanness; and afterward he shall kill the burnt-offering; ²⁰and the priest shall offer the burnt-offering and the cereal-offering upon the altar. Thus the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be clean.

²¹And if he be poor, and his means are not sufficient for this, he shall take one male lamb as a guilt-offering to be waved, to make atonement for him, and one-tenth of an *ephah* of fine meal mixed with oil as a cereal-offering, and a log of oil, ²²and two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, such as his means permit; and the one shall be a sin-offering, and the other a burnt-offering. ²³And on the eighth day he shall bring them for his cleansing to the priest, at the entrance of the tent of meeting, before Jehovah; ²⁴and the priest shall take the lamb of the guilt-offering, and the log of oil, and the priest shall wave them as a wave-offering before Jehovah. ²⁵And he shall kill the lamb of the guilt-offering; and the priest shall take some of the blood of the guilt-offering, and put it on the tip of the right ear of him who is to be cleansed, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the great toe of his right foot. ²⁶And the priest shall pour some of the oil into the palm of his own left hand;

^f Lev. 14¹⁰ According to the Rabbis the log was one-twelfth of a hin, i. e., about five-sixths of a pint.

Priestly Codes

²⁷and the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger some of the oil that is in his left hand seven times before Jehovah; ²⁸and the priest shall put some of the oil that is in his hand on the tip of the right ear of him who is to be cleansed, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the great toe of his right foot, and on the place of the blood of the guilt-offering; ²⁹and the rest of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put on the head of him who is to be cleansed, to make atonement for him before Jehovah. ³⁰And he shall offer one of the turtle-doves, or of the young pigeons, as his means permit,^g ³¹the one as a sin-offering, and the other as a burnt-offering, with the cereal-offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him who is to be cleansed before Jehovah. ³²This is the law of him on whom is the mark of leprosy, whose means do not permit him to bring the regular sacrifices for his cleansing.

⁵⁴This is the law for every kind of mark of leprosy, and for a scall, ⁵⁵and for the leprosy of a garment and of a house, ⁵⁶and for a rising, and for a scab, and for a bright spot, ⁵⁷to show when each is unclean, and when it is clean; this is the law of leprosy.

15 ^{2b}When any man hath a discharge from his body,^h his discharge is unclean; ³and his uncleanness shall continue as long as he hath the discharge; whether the discharge continue or be stopped so that no discharge appeareth, he is in a state of uncleanness.

¹³And when he who hath a discharge is cleansed of his discharge, he shall count seven days for his cleansing, and wash his clothes; and he shall bathe his body in running water, and become clean. ¹⁴And on the eighth day he shall take two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, and come before Jehovah at the entrance of the tent of meeting, and give them to the priest; ¹⁵and the priest shall offer them, the one as a sin-offering, and the other as a burnt-offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him before Jehovah for his discharge.ⁱ

§ 180. Childbirth, Lev. 12¹⁻⁸*Priestly Codes*

Lev. 12 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses: "Speak thus to the Israelites, ²If a woman become pregnant, and bear a male child, she shall be unclean seven days; as the days of the uncleanness of her monthly infirmity she shall be unclean. ³And on the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised. ⁴And she shall continue in the blood of her purification thirty-three days; she shall touch no holy thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purification are fulfilled. ⁵But if she bear a female child she

^g Lev. 14³⁰ Through a scribal error the last clause of ³⁰ has been repeated in ³¹.

^h Lev. 15^{2b} Lit., *flesh*, i. e., euphemism for *urethra*.

ⁱ Lev. 15¹³⁻¹⁵ The same directions are repeated in ²⁵⁻³⁰, for a woman afflicted with an irregular or prolonged monthly sickness.

§ 180 This law appears to be one of the later additions to the ceremonial system. Possibly it came in through the influence of Persia, where childbirth was regarded as especially defiling. The primitive idea at the root of the law is the supreme mystery of childbirth, which profoundly impressed the minds of the ancients. The ceremonial precautions were in all probability originally intended to guard against the influence of the spirits which were supposed to be present especially at childbirth, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 238-42.

Priestly Codes

shall be unclean two weeks,^j as in her monthly uncleanness; and she shall continue in the blood of her purification sixty-six days.

⁶And when the days of her purification are fulfilled, for a son or for a daughter, she shall bring a yearling lamb as a burnt-offering, and a young pigeon or a turtle-dove, as a sin-offering, to the entrance of the tent of meeting, to the priest, ⁷and he shall offer it before Jehovah, and make atonement for her; thus she shall be cleansed from her flow of blood. This is the law for her who beareth either a male or a female. ⁸And if her means be not sufficient for a lamb, she shall take two turtle-doves or two young pigeons; the one as a burnt-offering, and the other as a sin-offering; and the priest shall make atonement for her, and she shall be cleansed.^k

§ 181. Contact with the Dead, Dt. 21^{22, 23, 1-5}, Lev. 22^{4b, 6a}, Nu. 19^{14-21, 11-13, 31}¹⁹

Deuteronomic Codes

Dis-
posal
of body
of capi-
tal of-
fender

Dt. 21 ²²If a man have committed a sin deserving of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree,¹ ²³his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day, for he that is hanged is accursed of God, that thou defile not thy land which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee as an inheritance.

Rite in
case of
undec-
tected
murder

¹If one be found slain in the land which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee as a possession, lying in the open field, and it be not known who hath smitten him, ²then thy elders and thy judges shall come out, and they shall measure the distance to the cities round about the one who is slain: ³and the elders of the city which is nearest to the slain man shall take from the herd a heifer which hath done no work^m nor drawn in the yoke; ⁴and the elders of that city shall bring down the heifer to a valley with running water, which hath been neither plowed nor sown, and shall break the heifer's neck there in the valley. ⁵And the priests the sons of Levi shall come near; for them Jehovah thy God hath chosen to minister to him and to bless in the name of Jehovah, and every controversy and every blow shall be according to their sentence.

Holiness Code

Period
of de-
file-
ment

Lev. 22 ^{4b}If any man touch a thing that hath been made unclean by a dead body, ^{6a}the person who toucheth any such thing shall be unclean until evening.

^j Lev. 12⁵ This was because it was widely held in antiquity that the abnormal puerperal conditions lasted longest after the birth of a girl.

^k Lev. 12⁵ This vs. appears to be a later addition, since it follows the colophon in 7. The evidence, however, is not decisive.

§ 181 The belief that a murdered man's blood defiled a land or people, until proper atonement was made, is an inheritance from earliest times. The rite in Dt. 21¹⁻⁵ is doubtless very ancient. The priests do not appear to have participated in the ceremony, but are simply present to lend their religious sanction. In the priestly codes any contact with a corpse or with anything that has touched it means ceremonial defilement.

¹ Dt. 21²² I. e., as a solemn warning to all evil-minded members of the community.

^m Dt. 21³ Lit., which hath not been wrought with.

Priestly Codes

Nu. 19 ¹⁴This is the law when any man dieth in a tent: Every one who cometh into the tent and every one who is in the tent shall be unclean seven days. ¹⁵And every open vessel which hath no covering tied over it is unclean. ¹⁶And whoever in the open field toucheth any one who has been slain with a sword, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days. ¹⁷And for the one who is unclean they shall take of the ashes of the burning of the sin-offering; and runningⁿ water shall be added to it in a vessel; ¹⁸and a man ceremonially clean shall take hyssop, and dip it in the water, and sprinkle it over the tent and over all the vessels, and over the persons who were there, and over him who touched the bone, or the slain, or the dead, or the grave; ¹⁹and the one who is ceremonially clean shall sprinkle it over the one who is unclean both on the third day and on the seventh day; and on the seventh day he shall purify him; and he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and shall be clean in the evening.

Period
and
rite of
purifi-
cation
after
con-
tact
with
the
dead

²⁰But the man who is unclean and doth not purify himself shall be cut off from the midst of the assembly, because he hath defiled the sanctuary of Jehovah; the water of impurity hath not been sprinkled over him; he is unclean. ²¹And it shall be a perpetual statute to them; and he who sprinkleth the water of impurity shall wash his clothes; and he who toucheth the water of impurity shall be unclean until evening.

Pen-
alty for
neg-
lecting
this
law

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 19 ¹¹He who toucheth the dead, even any human corpse shall be unclean seven days; ¹²he must purify himself therewith on the third day and on the seventh day, and so become clean;^o but if he do not purify himself on the third day, he shall not become clean. ¹³Whoever toucheth a dead person, the corpse of any man that may have died, and doth not purify himself, defileth the dwelling of Jehovah; and that one shall be cut off from Israel, because the water of impurity was not sprinkled over him; he shall be unclean; his uncleanness is yet upon him.

Later
ver-
sions of
the law

31 ¹⁹Encamp outside the camp seven days; whoever hath killed any person, and whoever hath touched any slain, purify yourselves on the third day, and on the seventh day you and your captives.

§ 182. The Carcasses of Animals, Lev. 5², 11⁸, 24-26, 29b-40*Priestly Codes*

Lev. 5 ²If any one touch any unclean thing, either the carcass of an unclean beast, or the carcass of an unclean domestic animal, or the carcass of an unclean swarming creature, and the fact be hidden from him, and he be unclean, he shall be guilty.

Con-
tact
with
unclean
animals

11 ⁸Of the flesh of swine ye shall not eat, and their carcasses ye shall not touch; they are unclean to you.

Swine's
flesh

ⁿ Nu. 19¹⁶ *I. e.*, spring water, cf. Gen. 26¹⁹, Zech. 14⁸, Lev. 14⁵, 6, 50-52.
^o Nu. 19¹² So the Gk. and Syr.

*Supplemental Priestly Codes*Means
and
period
of pol-
lution

Lev. 11 ²⁴By all kinds of unclean beasts and birds and swarming creatures ye shall become unclean; whoever toucheth their carcasses shall be unclean until evening; ²⁵and whoever carrieth the carcass of any of them shall wash his clothes and be unclean until evening. ²⁶Every beast which parteth the hoof, but cleaveth not the cleft of the foot nor cheweth the cud, is unclean to you; every one who toucheth them shall be unclean. ²⁷And whatever goeth upon its paws, of all beasts that go on all fours, is unclean to you; whoever toucheth the carcass of any of them shall be unclean until evening. ²⁸And he who carrieth the carcass of any of them shall wash his clothes and be unclean until evening; they are unclean to you. ^{29b}The weasel, the mouse, the great lizard after its kind, ³⁰the gecko, the land-crocodile, and the chameleon, ³¹these are they which are unclean to you among all swarming creatures; whoever toucheth them, when they are dead shall be unclean until evening.

Cleans-
ing of
objects
pollut-
ed by
swarm-
ing
crea-
tures

³²And everything upon which any of them, when it is dead, doth fall, shall be unclean; whether it be a wooden vessel, or clothing, or a skin, or a sack; whatever vessel it be, with which any work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the evening; then it shall be clean. ³³And if any of them fall into an earthen vessel, whatever is in it shall be unclean, and the vessel itself ye shall break. ³⁴All food in it which may be eaten, which is prepared with water, shall be unclean; and any liquid which may be drunk out of any such vessel shall be unclean. ³⁵And everything on which the carcass of any of these creatures falleth shall be unclean; whether oven or chaffing pot, it shall be broken in pieces; they are unclean and shall be unclean to you. ³⁶Nevertheless a fountain or a cistern in which water is collected shall be clean, but that which toucheth their carcass shall be unclean. ³⁷And if the carcass of any of these fall upon any seed grain which is to be sown, it is clean. ³⁸But if water be put upon the seed, and the carcass of any of these fall upon it, it is unclean to you.

Car-
casses
of clean
animals

³⁹And if any animal, the flesh of which ye may eat, die, he who toucheth its carcass shall be unclean until evening. ⁴⁰And he who eateth of the carcass must wash his clothes, and be unclean until evening; he also who carrieth the carcass shall wash his clothes and shall be unclean until evening.^p

§ 183. With Persons or Things Ceremonially Unclean,

Nu. 19²², Lev. 5³ [15¹⁻²⁴]*Priestly Codes*Conta-
gion of
un-
clean-
ness

Nu. 19 ²²Whatever a person ceremonially unclean toucheth shall be unclean; and the one who toucheth it shall be unclean until evening.

^p Lev. 11^{39, 40} These vss. probably contain the earlier law which has been expanded in the preceding vss.

§ 183 A natural aversion, which was felt toward that which was revolting to the senses, is undoubtedly the basis of these as well as many other ceremonial laws. Lev. 15 develops this principle in detail. Persons of either sex afflicted with normal, abnormal or chronic discharges were regarded as unclean and capable of imparting ceremonial pollution to everything or everyone with which they came into direct contact. All imparted ceremonial impurity which required thorough washing and bathing, and meant uncleanness, at least until sunset.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 5 ³If one touch the uncleanness of man, whatever it be, and the fact be hid from him, when he knoweth of it, he shall be guilty.

§ 184. With Spoils of War, Nu. 31²⁰⁻²⁴*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

Nu. 31 ²⁰Of the spoils of war every garment and all that is made of skin, and all work of goats' hair, and all things made of wood, ye shall purify. To be purified

²¹And Eleazar the priest said to all the warriors who went to the battle, This is the statute of the law which Jehovah hath commanded Moses, ²²Only the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the lead—²³everything that may be put into the fire—ye shall put through the fire, that it may be clean; it shall surely be purified by means of the water of impurity; and all that cannot be put into the fire ye shall put through the water. ²⁴And ye shall wash your clothes on the seventh day and shall be clean, and afterwards ye shall come into the camp.' By fire and water

§ 185. Special Laws Governing the Nazirites, Nu. 6¹⁻¹²*Priestly Codes*

Nu. 6 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses, ²Speak to the Israelites and say to them, 'When any man or a woman shall make a special vow, the vow of a Nazirite, to separate himself to Jehovah, ³he shall separate himself from wine and strong drink; he shall drink no vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, neither shall he drink any drink of grapes, nor eat fresh or dried grapes. ⁴All the days of his separation he shall eat nothing that is borne by the grapevine, not even the unripe grapes or tendrils.' To reject all products of the vine

§ 184 In this very late traditional precedent, associated with the war with the Midianites, the later Jewish belief that everything that had been touched by heathen hands was unclean assumes binding legal form.

§ 185 The word *Nazirite* means, *one separated* or *one who separates himself*, i. e., from certain ordinary practices. The Nazirite was also *separated to Jehovah*, that is, his separation was intended to symbolize especial devotion to Jehovah. The custom of abstaining from certain acts or kinds of food in connection with a vow to the Deity appears to have been in vogue among the nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews. Throughout a millennium of Israel's history, Nazirites figure more or less prominently. Two kinds of Nazirites may be distinguished, (1) those who like Samson were bound for life by certain obligations assumed by themselves or their parents; or (2) those who for a limited period assumed the Nazirite vow. The second appear to have been by far the most common. The law of Nu. 6 contemplates only the latter type. In later Jewish history the Nazirite vow is very common, but is taken only for a specified time, cf. the Jewish tractat, *Nazir*, I Mac. 3⁴⁹, ⁵⁰, Jos. Ant. xix, 6¹. From the Samson stories and the earliest references it would seem that the abstinence from cutting the hair was the oldest and most characteristic element in the Nazirite vow, cf. for the widespread reverence for the hair, Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² I, 362-89. The other elements may have been added later. The refraining from wine and grapes and all the products of the vine may well be due to the aversion, long felt by the more zealous worshippers of Jehovah, the God of their nomadic ancestors, for the agricultural civilization of the Canaanites. The Nabateans were not allowed to sow or to set out fruit-bearing plants or to build houses or to use wine, cf. Diod. Sic. xix, 94³. Similar restrictions were laid upon the Recabites, who appear to have cherished the older nomadic ideals, Jer. 35⁵, 7. Amos classifies the Nazirites with the prophets, as sent by Jehovah to teach his people, Am. 2¹¹, 12. Self-denial and devotion to Jehovah are the two central ideas inherent in the ancient institution. For the somewhat similar regulations concerning the priests, cf. §§ 164, 170. The basis of the law regarding the Nazirite is evidently an early priestly direction which has many points of kinship with the Holiness Code.

⁴ Nu. 6⁴ RV, *from the kernels even to the husk*. The Heb. words occur nowhere else in the O.T. and the exact meaning is uncertain.

Priestly Codes

To
leave
hair un-
cut

Not to
touch
the
dead

Pro-
cedure
if acci-
dental-
ly de-
filed

⁵All the days of his vow of separation no razor shall pass over his head;^r until the completion of the days which he separated himself to Jehovah, he shall be holy; he shall let the locks of the hair on his head grow long.

⁶All the days that he separateth himself to Jehovah he shall not come near a dead body. ⁷He shall not make himself unclean for his father or his mother, for his brother or his sister, when they die, because his separation to God is upon his head. ⁸All the days of his separation he is holy to Jehovah.

⁹And if any man die very suddenly beside him, and he defile the head thus separated, the Nazirite shall shave his head on the day of his cleansing, on the seventh day shall he shave it.^s ¹⁰And on the eighth day he shall bring two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, to the priest, at the entrance of the tent of meeting: ¹¹and the priest shall offer one as a sin-offering, and the other as a burnt-offering, and make atonement for him, for he hath sinned by coming into contact with the dead; thus he shall hallow his head that same day. ¹²And he shall separate to Jehovah the days of his separation,^t and shall bring a male lamb a year old as a trespass-offering; but the preceding days shall not count, because his separation was defiled.

F

THE LAW OF CIRCUMCISION

§ 186. Origin and Requirements, Gen. 17⁹⁻¹⁴, 21⁴, Lev. 12³, Ex. 12⁴⁸

Priestly Codes

Divine
com-
mand-
to the
race

Gen. 17 ⁹God said to Abraham, As for thee, thou shalt keep my covenant, thou, and thy descendants after thee throughout their generations.

^r Nu. 6⁵ *I. e.*, shall not even be trimmed, cf. Judg. 13⁵, 16¹⁷, I Sam. 1¹¹.

^s Nu. 6⁹ According to the Mishna, *Temurah*, vii, 4, the hair thus cut off was to be buried, because unclean.

^t Nu. 6¹² *I. e.*, he shall observe his vow the full time originally agreed upon.

§ 186 The rite of circumcision was generally in vogue among western Semites. Herodotus asserts that they adopted it from the Egyptians, II, 36, 204. An intuitional appreciation of its hygienic importance, especially in hot tropical countries, may lie at the root of the institution, but more probably it is a survival from the phallic worship that was widely extended in antiquity and still survives in portions of the far East to-day. It is certainly safe to say that circumcision was originally regarded as a religious rite.

The peculiar story in Ex. 4²⁴⁻²⁶ connects the institution with Moses. It is his Kenite wife, however, who circumcised their son to deliver Moses from the wrath of Jehovah. The implication is that the custom was already in vogue among the Kenites. The priestly traditions represent it as revealed to Abraham and imposed upon all his descendants as a symbol of cleansing and consecration to Jehovah, and of the sacred covenant between God and his people. Closely connected with its religious origin was its early significance as a tribal and national mark. This meaning of the rite was strongly emphasized as distinctive by later Judaism, although the term *uncircumcised Philistines* implies the recognition by the biblical writers of the fact that, with this exception, the other peoples of Palestine, as well as the Hebrews, practiced circumcision.

The expression *bridgroom of blood* in Ex. 4²⁵ and the tradition in Josh. 5^{2, 3, 8, 9} suggest that with the Israelites in the earlier periods, as among the ancient Arabs, circumcision did not take place until adolescence or young manhood was reached. It was then the symbol of the admission of a youth to full marital, tribal, and religious rights. Only in later periods was it transferred to infancy, perhaps that the child from its earliest years might thus be placed

Priestly Codes

¹⁰This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy descendants after thee : every male among you shall be circumcised. ¹¹Whenever ye are circumcised, the flesh of your foreskin shall be a sign of a covenant between me and you. ¹²And every male when he is eight days old, shall be circumcised throughout your generations, he who is born in the house, or bought with money of any foreigner who is not of thine offspring. ¹³He who is born in thy house and he who is bought with thy money must surely be circumcised. Thus my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant. ¹⁴As for the uncircumcised male, who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, that one shall be cut off from among his people; he hath broken my covenant.

21 ⁴So Abraham circumcised his son Isaac, when he was seven days old, as God had commanded him. Traditional precedent

Lev. 12 ³On the eighth day the flesh of the foreskin shall be circumcised. Age

Ex. 12 ⁴⁸When an alien shall reside with thee, and wish to keep the passover to Jehovah, let all the male members of his family be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as a native born; but no uncircumcised person shall eat of it. Resident aliens

G

THE SACRED DUES

§ 187. **First-born Sons**, Ex. 34^{19a}, 20^c, 22^{19b}, Ex. 13^{1, 2}, Nu. 3¹¹⁻¹³, 44-51 [8¹⁶⁻¹⁸]

Primitive Codes

Ex. 34 ^{19a}All that openeth the womb is mine.

^{20c}All the first-born of thy sons shalt thou redeem.

22 ^{19b}The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give to me. Jehovah's due

under the protection of the Deity, or possibly because the later priests desired to break with the ideas and practices associated with the earlier usage. Cf. the varying usages in the rite of baptism. Thus transformed and interpreted, circumcision became finally the distinctive religious and racial mark of the Jew.

The Sacred Dues.—The fundamental idea of the theocracy can be traced to the beginnings of Israel's history. It developed as Heb. political institutions unfolded. Gifts to the divine head of the tribe and nation were presented from earliest times, as they were to the primitive tribal chieftain and later to the king. In the case of the human and Divine King the gifts were practically the same both in character and purpose. They were the evidences of loyalty and the surest means of securing and retaining royal favor. Only the best of everything would be accepted. In most cases this meant also the first. Certain dues must be regularly rendered by each man. Additional gifts might be brought as the desires or feelings or vows of the individual offerers dictated. Custom, as well as the influence of the priests, constantly tended to increase the volume of these sacred dues. In the earliest times they included little more than the offerings brought to the local sanctuaries at the three great festivals. The disappearance of the monarchy, with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., left the people free to bring all their gifts to the Divine King. The strong desire of the exiles to win again the favor of Jehovah also tended to multiply the number of sacred dues, with the result that under the priestly laws a very large proportion of the income of every Israelite found its way in one form or other to the sanctuary.

§ 187 The first-born of family and herd and flock was universally believed to be the best. It was appropriate, therefore, that it should be given to Jehovah. Another illustration of the belief in the pre-eminence of the first-born is the law of primogeniture, cf. § 30.

Priestly Codes

Ex. 13 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ²Sanctify to me all the first-born, whatever openeth the womb among the Israelites, both of man and of beast; it is mine.

Levites
a sub-
stitute

Nu. 3 ¹¹Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ¹²I have taken the Levites from among the Israelites in the place of all the first-born that openeth the womb among the Israelites; ¹³for all the first-born are mine; on the day that I smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt I consecrated to myself all the first-born in Israel, both man and beast; mine they shall be: I am Jehovah.

⁴⁴Jehovah also gave this command to Moses: ⁴⁵Take the Levites in the place of all the first-born among the Israelites, and the cattle of the Levites in the place of their cattle; and the Levites shall be mine: I am Jehovah.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Money-
equiva-
lent

Nu. 3 ⁴⁶And for the redemption of the two hundred and seventy-three of the first-born of the Israelites, who are over and above the number of the Levites, ⁴⁷thou shalt take five shekels^a apiece according to the census; by the standard of the shekel of the sanctuary shalt thou take them (the shekel is twenty gerahs). ⁴⁸And thou shalt give the money, with which the odd number of them is redeemed, to Aaron and to his sons. ⁴⁹And Moses took the redemption-money from them who were over and above those who were redeemed by the Levites. ⁵⁰From the first-born of the Israelites he took the money, one thousand three hundred and sixty-five shekels, by the standard of the shekel of the sanctuary; ⁵¹and Moses gave the redemption-money to Aaron and to his sons, according to the word of Jehovah, as Jehovah commanded Moses.

§ 188. First-born of Flock and Herd, Ex. 34^{10b}, 20, 13^{11-13a}, 22³⁰,
Dt. 14²³⁻²⁷, 15¹⁹⁻²², Nu. 18¹⁵⁻¹⁸ [Lev. 27²⁶, 27]

Primitive Code

Jeho-
vah's
due

Ex. 34 ^{19b}All thy male cattle, the first-born of cow and sheep are mine. ²⁰And the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; and if thou dost not wish to redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck.

13 ¹¹When Jehovah shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, as he promised by oath to thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee, ¹²thou shalt set apart^b to Jehovah all that openeth the womb; of all the first offsprings of beasts, which thou shalt have, the males shall belong to Jehovah. ^{13a}And every first-born of an ass thou shalt redeem with a sheep; but if thou dost not wish to redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck.

22 ³⁰Thou shalt give^c to me the first-born of thine oxen, and thy sheep; seven days shall it be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me.

^a Nu. 3⁴⁷ About three dollars or twelve shillings.

§ 188 This institution is firmly established in the earliest codes and dates from the nomadic period of Israel's history. The primitive Arabs also appear to have had it.

^b Ex. 13¹² Lit., *cause to pass over*.

^c Ex. 22³⁰ Heb., *Likewise shall thou do*.

FIRST-BORN OF FLOCK AND HERD [Dt. 14²³

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 14 ²³Before Jehovah thy God, in the place in which he shall choose to have his name dwell, thou shalt eat the tithe of thy grain, of thy new wine, and of thine oil, and the first-born of thy herd and of thy flock, that thou mayest learn to fear Jehovah thy God always. ²⁴And if the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it, because the place, where Jehovah thy God shall choose to set his name, is too far from thee; when Jehovah thy God shall bless thee, ²⁵thou shalt exchange thy offering for money, and shalt bind up the money in thy hand, and shalt go to the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose; ²⁶and thou shalt spend the money for whatever thou desireth, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatever thine appetite craveth; and thou shalt eat there before Jehovah thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, together with thy household. ²⁷Thou shalt not forsake the Levite who is within thy city, for he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee.

Present-
ation
at the
sanct-
uary

15 ¹⁹All the first-born males of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt consecrate to Jehovah thy God; thou shalt do no work with the first-born of thy herd, nor shear the first-born of thy flock. ²⁰Thou, together with thy household, shalt eat it before Jehovah thy God year by year in the place which Jehovah shall choose. ²¹And if it have any blemish, such as lameness or blindness or any evil blemish whatever, thou shalt not sacrifice it to Jehovah thy God. ²²Thou shalt eat it within thy gates; the unclean and the clean shall eat it alike, as the gazelle, and as the hart.

Only
perfect
animals
accept-
able

Priestly Codes

Nu. 18 ¹⁵Everything that openeth the womb, of all flesh which they offer to Jehovah, both of man and beast shall be thine; only for the first-born of man thou shalt receive a ransom, and for the first-born of unclean beasts thou shalt receive a ransom. ¹⁶At a month old thou shalt receive its ransom price according to thy valuation, the sum of five shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary, which contains twenty gerahs. ¹⁷But for the first-born of a cow, or the first-born of a sheep, or the first-born of a goat, thou shalt not receive a ransom; they are holy; thou shalt dash their blood upon the altar, and shalt burn their fat as an offering made by fire as an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ¹⁸Their flesh shall be thine; like the wave-breast and the right thigh, it shall be thine.

Only
unclean
animals
to be
re-
deemed

§ 189. Firstfruits, Ex. 34^{26a} [23^{19a}], Dt. 18⁴, 26¹⁻¹¹, Lev. 19²⁴, 23¹⁰, ¹¹, Nu. 15¹⁷⁻²¹, Lev. 2¹⁴⁻¹⁶

Primitive Codes

Ex. 34 ^{26a}The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring to the house of Jehovah thy God.

Present-
ation

§ 189 It was natural that as the Hebrews passed over to the agricultural stage, they should also bring to Jehovah the first products of the field, as well as of the herd and flock. Among the Canaanites this institution was probably in force long before the Hebrews appeared in Palestine. With the Babylonians vegetable offerings were in the preponderance. The formula of Dt. 26, to be used when the firstfruits were presented, is in perfect keeping with the religious and didactic aims of the Deuteronomic lawgivers.

Deuteronomic Codes

Method
and
ritual
of pres-
enta-
tion

Dt. 18 ⁴The firstfruits of thy grain, of thy new wine, and of thine oil, and the first of the fleece of thy sheep, shalt thou give to Jehovah.

26 ¹When thou shalt come into the land which Jehovah thy God is about to give thee as an inheritance, and shalt possess it, and dwell therein, ²thou shalt take a part of the first of all the fruit of the ground, which thou shalt bring in from thy land that Jehovah thy God giveth thee; and thou shalt put it in a basket, and shalt go to the place in which Jehovah thy God shall choose to have his name dwell. ³And thou shalt come to the priest who shall be officiating in those days, and say to him, I declare this day to Jehovah thy God; that I have come to the land which Jehovah promised by oath to our fathers to give to us. ⁴Then the priest shall take the basket out of thy hand, and set it down before the altar of Jehovah thy God. ⁵And thou shalt speak out and say before Jehovah thy God, An Aramean^d ready to perish was my father; and he went down into Egypt, and resided there as an alien, few in number; and he became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous. ⁶And the Egyptians dealt evilly with us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. ⁷Then we cried to Jehovah, the God of our fathers, and Jehovah heard our cry, and saw our affliction, and our toil, and our oppression; ⁸and Jehovah brought us forth from Egypt with a strong hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with great terrors, and with signs, and with wonders; ⁹and he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this land, a land abounding in milk and honey. ¹⁰Now, therefore, I have brought the first of the fruit of the ground, which thou, O Jehovah, hast given me. And thou shalt set it down before Jehovah thy God; ¹¹and thou shalt rejoice in all the good which Jehovah thy God hath given to thee and to thy household, together with the Levite and the alien who resideth in thy midst.

Holiness Code

Fruit
of trees

Lev. 19 ²⁴On the fourth year all the fruit of a young tree shall be holy, a praise-offering to Jehovah.

23 ¹⁰Speak to the Israelites and say to them, When ye come into the land which I am about to give to you, and reap its harvest, ye shall bring the sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest to the priest, ¹¹and he shall wave the sheaf before Jehovah that ye may be accepted; on the day following the sabbath the priest shall wave it.

Priestly Codes

First
of the
dough

Nu. 15 ¹⁷Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ¹⁸Speak to the Israelites and say to them, 'When ye come into the land to which I am about to bring you, ¹⁹and when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall offer up a special offering to Jehovah. ²⁰Of the first of your dough ye shall offer up a cake as a special offering; like the special offering from the threshing-floor, shall ye offer it.

^d Dt. 26⁵ I. e., Jacob, cf. Gen. 24¹⁰, 24.

Priestly Codes

²¹Of the first of your dough ye shall give to Jehovah a special offering throughout your generations.⁶

Supplementary Priestly Codes

Lev. 2 ¹⁴If thou offer a cereal-offering of firstfruits to Jehovah, thou shalt offer for the cereal-offering of thy firstfruits fresh grain in the ear, parched with fire and crushed. ¹⁵And thou shalt put oil on it, and lay frankincense on it; it is a cereal-offering. ¹⁶And as a memorial of it the priest shall burn part of the crushed grain and part of the oil, with all the frankincense; it is an offering made by fire to Jehovah.

Presenta-
tion of
first of
grain

§ 190. Tithes, Dt. 14²²⁻²⁷, 26¹²⁻¹⁵, Nu. 18²⁵⁻³², Lev. 27³⁰⁻³³

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 14 ²²Of all the produce of thy seed thou shalt take a tenth of all that groweth in the field each year, ²³and before Jehovah thy God, in the place in which he shall choose, to have his name dwell, thou shalt eat the tithe of thy grain, of thy new wine, and of thine oil, and the first-born of thy herd and of thy flock, that thou mayest learn to fear Jehovah thy God always. ²⁴And if the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it, because the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose to set his name, is too far from thee; when Jehovah thy God shall bless thee, ²⁵thou shalt exchange thy offering for money, and shalt bind up the money in thy hand, and shalt go to the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose; ²⁶and thou shalt spend the money for whatever thou desireth, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatever thine appetite craveth; and thou shalt eat there before Jehovah thy God, and thou shalt rejoice together with thy household. ²⁷Also thou shalt not forget the Levite who dwelleth within thy town, for he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee.

Presenta-
tion of
the reg-
ular
tithes

26 ¹²When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithe of thy produce in the third year, which is the year of tithing, then thou shalt give it to the Levite, to the resident alien, to the fatherless, and to the widow, that they

Trien-
nial
tithe
for the
needy

* Nu. 15^{18b-21} This passage appears to have been taken from an earlier collection of priestly directions.

§ 190 The tithe, as a rate of taxation, was known among many early peoples, including the Babylonians (Jastrow, *Relig. of Babs. and Assyrs.*, 668), the Egyptians (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nats.*, 312), Sabeans (Plin. *NH.* 12⁶³), Carthaginians (Diod. Sic. 20¹⁴) and Syrians (1 Mac. 10³¹, 11³⁹). From I Sam. 8¹⁵, 17 it appears that a tithe of the product of the fields and vineyards and flocks was also levied as a tax by Solomon or later Israelitish kings. There is no trace, however, of the sacred tithe in the oldest Heb. codes. It appears first in Northern Israel in the days of Amos, 4¹; but the law of Dt. 14²²⁻²⁷ suggests that in the days of Josiah the institution had long been established.

In the Deuteronomic codes the tithe is only levied on the products of the field and olive and vineyard. Two out of every three years it or the equivalent was consumed by the individual offerer and his family and dependents at the central sanctuary; on the third year it was distributed among the needy in the community. Since this law is bound up with that of the sabbatical year, it would appear that only three out of every cycle of seven years was the special tithe thus set aside for the needy. From the first Jehovah's special part in the tithe doubtless went to the Levitical priests. As has already been noted, § 160, until the days of Nehemiah, however, their income was very uncertain, cf. Neh. 13¹⁰⁻¹³. In the priestly codes all the tithe goes to the Levites. The supplemental priestly passage, Lev. 27 also adds the tithe of the herd and flock, i. e., of the increase of each year. As interpreted by the Rabbis this went to the priests, cf. Tobit 1, Jubilees, 32¹⁵.

Deuteronomic Codes

may eat within thy city, and be filled. ¹³And thou shalt say before Jehovah thy God, I have put away the consecrated things out of my house, and have also given them to the Levite, and to the resident alien, to the fatherless and to the widow, just as thou hast commanded me; I have not transgressed any of thy commands, neither have I forgotten them: ¹⁴I have not eaten it in my mourning,^f neither have I put away any of it, while I was unclean, nor given of it for the dead;^g I have hearkened to the voice of Jehovah my God; I have done just as thou hast commanded me. ¹⁵Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou promised by oath to our fathers, a land abounding in milk and honey.

Priestly Codes

Tithe
of the
tithe
for the
priests

Nu. 18 ²⁵Jehovah gave this command to Moses, ²⁶Thou shalt speak to the Levites, and say to them, 'When ye take from the Israelites the tithe which I have granted you from them as your inheritance, ye shall make a contribution from it to Jehovah, a tithe of the tithe. ²⁷And your contribution shall be accredited to you, as though it were the grain of the threshing-floor, and as the full produce of the winepress. ²⁸Thus ye also shall make a contribution to Jehovah of all your tithes which ye receive of the Israelites; and out of them^b ye shall give Jehovah's full contribution to Aaron the priest. ²⁹Out of all your gifts ye shall make the full contribution due to Jehovah, even the consecrated parts of these gifts, selecting it from the best of them.'⁷ ³⁰Therefore say to them, 'When ye have contributed from your gifts the best of them, the rest shall be reckoned to the Levites as the produce of the threshing-floor and of the winepress. ³¹And ye may eat it anywhere, ye and your families; for it is your reward in return for your service in the tent of meeting. ³²When ye have contributed the best of your tithes, ye shall incur no guilt on account of it; and ye shall not profane the holy things of the Israelites, lest ye die.'

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Tithe
of the
herd
and
flock

Lev. 27 ³⁰All the tithe of the land, whether the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, belongeth to Jehovah; it is holy to Jehovah. ³¹And if a man wish to redeem any of his tithe, he shall add to it the fifth part of it. ³²And all the tithe of the herd or the flock, the tenth of whatever passeth under the rod,ⁱ shall be holy to Jehovah. ³³The owner shall not look to see whether it is good or bad, nor shall he change it; and if he change it, both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy; it may not be redeemed.

^f Dt. 26¹⁴ *I. e.*, while ceremonially unclean.

^g Dt. 26¹⁴ Probably referring to the custom of sending gifts of food to the relatives and friends of the dead, cf. II Sam. 3³⁵, Jer. 16⁷, Ezek. 24¹⁷. Possibly the allusion is to the practice of putting food on the grave, cf. Tobit 4¹⁸.

^b Nu. 18²⁸ *I. e.*, the tithes.

ⁱ Lev. 27³² *I. e.*, is counted.

§ 191. Poll Tax, Ex. 30¹¹⁻¹⁶*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

Ex. 30 ¹¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ¹²When thou takest the census of the Israelites according to their numbering, they shall give each a ransom for his life to Jehovah, when thou numberest them, that no plague come upon them. ¹³This is the sum that each shall give who passeth over to those who are numbered, half a shekel according to the standard of the sanctuary^j (the shekel is twenty gerahs); half a shekel as an offering to Jehovah. ¹⁴Every one who passeth over to those who are numbered, from twenty years old and upward,^k shall present the offering of Jehovah. ¹⁵The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less than the half shekel when they present the offering of Jehovah to make atonement for your lives. ¹⁶And thou shalt take the atonement money from the Israelites and shall give it for the service of the tent of meeting that it may be a memorial before Jehovah in behalf of the Israelites, to make atonement for their^l lives.

To be paid by every adult male

§ 192. Voluntary Offerings, Ex. 34^{20c}, 22^{29a}, Dt. 16^{10, 16, 17} [12⁵⁻⁸], Lev. 22¹⁷⁻²⁰*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 34 ^{20c}None shall appear before me empty-handed.

Ex. 22 ^{29a}Thou shalt not delay to offer of thy harvest, and of the outflow of thy presses.

Required of all

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 16 ¹⁰Thou shalt keep the feast of weeks to Jehovah thy God according to the measure of the voluntary offering which thy hands shall present, in proportion as Jehovah thy God blesseth thee. ¹⁶Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before Jehovah thy God in the place which he shall choose: at the feast of unleavened bread, and at the feast of weeks, and at the feast of tabernacles; and they shall not appear before Jehovah empty-handed; ¹⁷every man shall give as he is able, according to the individual gift with which Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee.

To be presented at the annual feasts

Holiness Code

Lev. 22 ¹⁷Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ¹⁸Speak to Aaron, and to his sons, and to all the Israelites, and say to them, 'If any man of the house of

Only perfect animals acceptable

§ 191 According to Neh. 10³³ the annual temple tax consisted of one-third of a shekel. The present law evidently comes from a period later than the great reformation of 400 B.C. This poll tax, about thirty-three cents, in the subsequent period was faithfully paid by all loyal Jews, and brought into the temple a very large income.

^j Ex. 30¹³ *I. e.*, full weight, not depreciated, as were most of the current coins of Palestine.

^k Ex. 30¹⁴ Cf. § 34.

^l Ex. 30¹⁶ Heb., *your*.

§ 192 Voluntary gifts, depending upon the prosperity and generosity of the individual giver, constituted the chief offerings presented at the pre-exilic sanctuaries. After the exile the required offerings were greatly increased, but the zeal of the worshippers also increased, so that many voluntary gifts were doubtless still brought to the sanctuary.

Holiness Code

Israel, or of the aliens residing in Israel, bring his offering, whether it be any of the vows, or any of the voluntary offerings, which are brought to Jehovah as a burnt-offering; ¹⁹in order that ye may be accepted, ye shall offer a male without blemish, of the bullocks, of the sheep, or of the goats. ²⁰But whatever hath a blemish ye shall not offer, for it will not be accepted for you.'

§ 193. Things Vowed or Devoted, Dt. 23²¹⁻²³, 18, 12²⁶, Nu. 30, 6¹³⁻²¹, Lev. 27¹⁻²⁹

Deuteronomic Codes

A vow
made
to be
paid

Dt. 23 ²¹When thou vowest a vow to Jehovah thy God, thou shalt not delay to pay it; for Jehovah thy God will surely require it of thee and it will be sin on thy part. ²²But if thou refrain from making a vow, it shall be no sin on thy part. ²³That which thy lips have declared thou shalt faithfully do, according as thou hast vowed to Jehovah thy God, a voluntary offering, which thou hast promised by word of mouth. ¹⁸Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot, or the wages of such a dog, into the temple of Jehovah thy God for a vow; for both these are an abomination to Jehovah thy God.

Not
with
immor-
al gain

At the
temple

¹² ²⁶Thou shalt take the consecrated things which thou hast, and thy votive-offerings, and go to the place which Jehovah shall choose.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

A
man's
vow

Nu. 30 ¹Moses said to the heads of the tribes of the Israelites, This is the thing which Jehovah hath commanded: ²When a man voweth a vow to Jehovah, or sweareth an oath to bind himself with a bond, he shall not break his word; he shall do just as he declared.

Vow
made
by an
unmar-
ried
daugh-
ter

³Also when a woman maketh a vow to Jehovah and bindeth herself by a pledge, while she is still in her father's house, in her youth, ⁴and her father heareth her vow, and her pledge with which she hath bound herself, and her father say nothing to her; then all her vows shall be valid, and every pledge with which she hath bound herself shall be valid. ⁵But if her father express his disapproval of her on the day that he heareth, none of her vows, or of her pledges with which she hath bound herself, shall be valid; and Jehovah will forgive her, because her father expressed his disapproval of her.

By a
wife

⁶And if she be married while her vows are upon her, or the rash utterance of her lips, with which she hath bound herself, ⁷and her husband hear it, and

§ 193 The widespread Semitic custom of making vows is assumed by these laws. The classic O.T. example of a vow are, (1) that of Jephthah, Judg. 11^{30ff}, according to which he promised if Jehovah would give him the victory over his foes, to sacrifice the first one who came to meet him on his return; and (2) Saul's similar vow, which would have cost the life of his valiant son Jonathan had not the people interfered, I Sam. 14²⁴⁻⁴⁵. The vow was of the nature of a contract between the individual and Jehovah and was all the more binding because the Deity was one of the parties to it. The present laws, however, no longer recognize human sacrifice, but provide an equivalent offering in case a man, for example, vows that he will give one of his children to Jehovah. The priest, as Jehovah's representative determines the valuation. Especially in the case of the poor, the danger of extortion was great as the law itself recognizes by making a special provision, Lev. 27⁸. The law regarding the redemption of persons and things vowed is very late, for it assumes the late regulation regarding the year of jubilee, but II Kgs. 12⁴ contains a reference to the custom which indicates that the institution was in vogue at an early date. The Marseilles Tablet also demonstrates that it was known to the Phœnicians and probably the ancient Canaanites, as well as to the Hebrews, cf. Appendix VIII.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

say nothing to her on the day that he heareth it; then her vows shall be valid, and her pledges with which she hath bound herself shall be valid. ⁸But if her husband express his disapproval of her on the day that he heareth it, then he rendereth her vow invalid, and the rash utterance of her lips, with which she hath bound herself, and Jehovah will forgive her.

⁹But in the case of the vow of a widow, or of one who is divorced, every-thing with which she hath bound herself, shall be valid against her. ¹⁰And if she vowed in her husband's house, or bound herself with a pledge by an oath, ¹¹and her husband heard it, and said nothing to her, and expressed no disapproval of her, then all her vows shall be valid, and every pledge with which she bound herself shall be valid. ¹²But if her husband made them null and invalid, on the day that he heard them, then whatever she declared concerning her vows, or her pledge shall not be valid; her husband hath made them invalid, and Jehovah will forgive her. ¹³Every vow, and every oath pledging some self-infliction, her husband may render valid or invalid. ¹⁴But if her husband say nothing to her from day to day, then he rendereth all her vows, or all her pledges which rest upon her valid; he hath rendered them valid because he said nothing to her on the day that he heard them. ¹⁵But if he render them null and invalid after he hath heard them, then he taketh her iniquity upon himself. ¹⁶These are the statutes, which Jehovah commanded Moses, between a man and his wife, between a father and his daughter, while she is still a girl in her father's house.

By a widow or divorced woman

Priestly Codes

Nu. 6 ¹³This is the law of the Nazirite: When the days of his separation^m are at an end he shall comeⁿ to the entrance of the tent of meeting. ¹⁴And he shall offer as his gift to Jehovah, one yearling male lamb without blemish as a burnt-offering, and one ewe-lamb a year old without blemish as a sin-offering, and one ram without blemish as a peace-offering, ¹⁵and a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine meal mixed with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and their cereal-offering and libations.^o ¹⁶And the priest shall present them before Jehovah, and shall offer his sin-offering, and his burnt-offering; ¹⁷and he shall sacrifice the ram as a peace-offering to Jehovah, together with the basket of unleavened bread; the priest shall also present its cereal-offering and its libation.

¹⁸Then the Nazirite shall shave his consecrated^p head at the entrance of the tent of meeting, and shall take his consecrated^p hair,^q and put it on the fire which is under the sacrifice of peace-offering. ¹⁹And the priest shall take the boiled shoulder of the ram, and one unleavened cake from the basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall lay them on the hands of the Nazirite,

Ritual to be observed

^m Nu. 6¹³ Or, *Naziriteship*.

ⁿ Nu. 6¹³ Through what must be a scribal error the Heb. reads, *he shall be brought*.

^o Nu. 6¹⁵ According to Nu. 15⁴⁻⁶ these consisted of about three and one-half pints of fine meal and about seven pints of wine.

^p Nu. 6¹⁸ Lit., *of his separation* or *Naziriteship*.

^q Nu. 6¹⁸ The hair was regarded as sacred by many ancient peoples, and therefore suitable as a special offering.

Priestly Codes

after he hath shaved off the evidence of his separation. ²⁰Then the priest shall wave them as a wave-offering before Jehovah; this is an holy gift for the priest, together with the wave-breast and the thigh of the contribution; after that the Nazirite may drink wine.

Résumé of his obligations ²¹This is the law of the Nazirite who taketh a vow in regard to his gift to Jehovah in accordance with his separation, in addition to what he is able to offer; according to his vow which he voweth, so he must do in accordance with the law of his separation.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Tariff for redemption of things vowed: individuals **Lev. 27** ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ²Speak to the Israelites, and say to them, 'When a man fulfilte a vow to Jehovah which involveth thy valuation of persons, ³for a male between twenty and sixty years of age thy valuation shall be fifty shekels of silver, by the standard^r of the sanctuary. ⁴And if it be a female, thy valuation shall be thirty shekels. ⁵And if it be between the age of five years and twenty years, thy valuation shall be for a male twenty shekels, and for a female ten shekels. ⁶And if it be between the ages of one month and five years, thy valuation shall be for a male five shekels of silver, and for a female three shekels of silver. ⁷And if it be for the age of sixty years and upward, thy valuation shall be for a male fifteen shekels, and for a female ten shekels. ⁸But if the man be too poor to pay the valuation, the person vowed shall be placed^s before the priest, and the priest shall value him; according to the means of him who made the vow shall the priest value him.

Animals ⁹And if it be a beast, of a kind which may be offered to Jehovah, all that any man giveth of such to Jehovah shall be holy. ¹⁰He shall not alter or exchange it, a good for a bad, or a bad for a good; and if he exchange beast for beast, then both it and that for which it is exchanged shall be holy. ¹¹And if it be an unclean beast, of a kind which they do not offer to Jehovah, then he shall set the beast before the priest; ¹²and the priest shall value it, estimating how good or bad it is; as thou, the priest, valuest it, so shall it be. ¹³But if he wish to redeem it, he shall add the fifth part to thy valuation.

Houses ¹⁴And when a man consecrateth his house to be holy to Jehovah, the priest shall value it, estimating how good or bad it is; as the priest valuest it, so shall it stand. ¹⁵And if he who consecrated it wish to redeem his house, he shall add the fifth part of the money of thy valuation to it, and it shall be his.

Hereditary fields and growing crops ¹⁶And if a man consecrate to Jehovah part of the field of his possession, thy valuation shall be in proportion to the seed sown upon it to the sowing thereof: if sown with a homer of barley it shall be valued at fifty shekels of silver. ¹⁷If he consecrate his field from the year of jubilee, it shall stand according to thy valuation. ¹⁸But if he consecrate his field after the jubilee, the priest shall reckon to him the money in proportion to the years that remain until the year of jubilee; and an abatement shall be made from thy

^r Lev. 27³ Lit., *shekel*.

^s Lev. 27⁸ Lit., *one shall set*; so also in ¹¹.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

valuation. ¹⁹And if he who consecrated the field wish to redeem it, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of thy valuation to it, and it shall be assured to him. ²⁰But if he will not redeem the field, or if he have sold the field to another man, it shall not be redeemed any more; ²¹but the field, when it is released in the jubilee, shall be holy to Jehovah, as a field devoted; it shall be the possession of the priest. ²²And if he consecrate to Jehovah a field which he hath bought, which is not one of the fields of his possession, ²³the priest shall reckon to him the amount of thy valuation until the year of jubilee; and he shall give thy valuation in that day, as a thing holy to Jehovah. ²⁴At the year of jubilee the field shall return to him of whom it was bought, even to him to whom the possession of the land belongeth. ²⁵And all thy valuations shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary; twenty gerahs shall be the shekel.

²⁶Only the firstling of animals, which as such belongeth to Jehovah, no man shall consecrate whether it be ox or sheep, it is Jehovah's. ²⁷And if it be the firstling of an unclean beast, he shall ransom it according to thy valuation, and shall add to it the fifth part of it; or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to thy valuation.

²⁸Nevertheless, no devoted thing, that a man may devote to Jehovah of all that he hath, whether of man or beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed; every devoted thing is most holy to Jehovah. ²⁹None devoted, that shall be devoted from among men, shall be ransomed; he shall surely be put to death.'^t

First-
lings of
clean
and un-
clean
animals

Things
devot-
ed to
Jeho-
vah

§ 194. Spoils of War, Nu. 31²⁵⁻³¹

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 31 ²⁵Jehovah commanded Moses, ²⁶Make an estimate of the booty that was taken, both of man and of beast, thou, and Eleazar the priest, and the heads of the fathers' houses of the congregation; ²⁷and divide the booty into two parts between the men skilled in war, who went out to battle, and all the congregation. ²⁸And levy a contribution for Jehovah upon the warriors who went out to battle: one in five hundred, of the persons, and of the oxen, and of the asses, and of the flocks; ²⁹take it from their half, and give it to Eleazar the priest, as a special contribution to Jehovah. ³⁰And from the Israelites' half thou shalt take one drawn out of every fifty, of the persons, of the oxen, of the asses, and of the flocks, *even* of all the cattle, and give them to the Levites, who have charge of the dwelling of Jehovah. ³¹And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as Jehovah commanded Moses.

Part
due Je-
hovah

^t Lev. 27²⁹ This law doubtless refers to heathen captives or idolaters placed under the ban, cf. §§ 58-60.

§ 194 This late traditional precedent represents one of the many ways in which later Judaism sought to secure for the temple and its officials a definite and generous income. From the earliest times a part of the spoils of war were doubtless dedicated to the Deity, cf. *e. g.*, Josh. 7. The Moslem law enacts that one-fifth of the spoil belongs to God, Kor. 8⁴².

H

SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS

§ 195. Animals Suitable for Sacrifice, Dt. 15²¹, 17¹, Lev. 22^{18b-27} [1^{2b}, 3]

Deuteronomic Codes

Only
perfect
animals

Dt. 15 ²¹If an animal have any blemish, such as lameness or blindness or any evil blemish whatever, thou shalt not sacrifice it to Jehovah thy God.

17 ¹Thou shalt not sacrifice to Jehovah thy God an ox, or a sheep, in which is a blemish or anything evil, for that is an abomination to Jehovah thy God.

Holiness Code

De-
tailed
speci-
fications

Lev. 22 ^{18b}If any man of the house of Israel or of the aliens residing in Israel bring his offering, whether it be any of the vows or voluntary offerings

Sacrificial Offerings.—The prophetic tradition in the story of Cain and Abel traces the institution of sacrifice back to the beginnings of human history. The earliest Bab. inscriptions contain frequent references to both animal and vegetable sacrifices. The Babylonians believed that the institution originated with the creation of the world. Thousands of years before the beginnings of Hebrew history the usages and laws of sacrifice had been developed, subject to local modifications. Most of the sacrificial terms employed in the O.T. had long been in use among the Babylonians. Like prayer and song, sacrifice in antiquity was almost universally regarded as a necessary element in all religious worship. Perhaps the original, and certainly in the O.T. the prevailing idea of sacrifice is that of a gift or tribute to the Deity. Thus the oldest common designation of a sacrificial offering, *minhah*, was also employed to describe a gift proffered to a friend or a chieftain or an offended brother (as when Jacob returned to his brother Esau, Gen. 32¹³, 18). In the ritual the *minhah* included animal as well as other sacrificial offerings. The corresponding late priestly term, *korban*, gift or present, has a similar broad content. The laws and literature of sacrifice reflect the idea of the primitive age when the prevailing conceptions of the gods were exceedingly anthropomorphic. Since early man was, like the normal small boy, usually possessed of a strongly developed appetite, it was inevitable that he should regard food as the gift most suitable and acceptable to his god. In the Bab. literature this idea is clearly and frequently expressed. In the Bab. account of creation the gods are represented as feasting and drinking together, cf. Vol. I, p. 366. Elsewhere we are told that the *glorious gods smell the incense, the noble food of heaven, they enjoy the pure wine which no hand hath touched*, 4 R. 19⁴, or again we find the parallel expressions, *eat the food, accept his sacrifice*, 4 R. 17⁵⁶.

As man's conceptions of the Deity became more spiritualized, he recognized that the god could not, as a human being, partake of the offerings brought to him; accordingly the parts set aside for the Deity were consumed by fire that he might *smell the pleasant odor*, even as when Noah sacrificed to Jehovah, Gen. 8²¹. At other times, Jehovah's portion was consumed by his representatives, the priests. In the case of animal sacrifices the most sacred part, the blood that represents the life, cf. note § 173, was poured out upon the ground or dashed against the altar that it might thus be presented to the Deity.

It was natural that out of the belief that the Deity was pleased with gifts of food should grow the kindred conception of sacrifice as a sacrificial meal. Even in the later priestly ritual an ordinary sacrifice had all the ordinary accessories of the usual Heb. meal: the meat, cakes of meal mixed with olive oil, and a measure of wine. Judg. 6¹⁹ contains one of the most striking of the many illustrations of this popular belief, for it states that when the Messenger of Jehovah came to him, *Gideon went in and prepared a kid, and unleavened cakes from an ephah of flour; he put the broth in a pot, and brought it out to the divine Messenger*. The tradition adds that after this meal had been laid out on the rock, and the broth had been poured out, the divine Messenger touched with his staff the food thus prepared, and a fire went up from the rock and consumed the food.

The early narrative in I Sam. 9 and the sacrificial laws in Dt. give vivid pictures of the pre-exilic sacrificial meals at the local shrines and later at the central sanctuary in Jerusalem. Amid great rejoicing they shared their sacrificial offerings with their Divine Host, their families, and the needy in the community. Each individual offerer slew and prepared his own sacrificial animal. As has already been noted, Intro.d., p. 43, the exile changed these feasts to fasts; the performance of the sacrificial offering also passed largely from the hands of the individual offerer to the priests, as the ritual became more elaborate and was more carefully guarded from all ceremonial defilement. The chief aim of sacrifice ceased to be praise and homage, and it came to represent more and more the effort of the individual and community to appease Jehovah's wrath and secure and retain his favor.

Holiness Code

which are brought to Jehovah as a burnt-offering,¹⁹ in order that ye may be accepted, ye shall offer a male without blemish, of the bullocks, of the sheep, or of the goats. ²⁰But ye shall not offer anything that hath a blemish, for it will not be accepted for you. ²¹Whoever bringeth a sacrifice of peace-offerings to Jehovah as a votive-offering^a or as a voluntary offering from the herd or the flock, it must be perfect to be accepted; there must be no blemish in it. ²²Animals that are blind, or broken, or maimed, or that have running sores, or scurvy or are scabbed, ye shall not offer to Jehovah, nor make of them an offering by fire on the altar to Jehovah. ²³A bullock or a lamb, however, which hath any part too long or too short,^b thou mayest offer as a voluntary offering, but it will not be accepted as a votive-offering. ²⁴Ye shall not offer to Jehovah that which hath the testicles bruised, or crushed, or torn off, or cut off; ye shall not sacrifice such animals in your land;^c ²⁵nor shall ye offer any of these from the hand of a foreigner as food for your God; because they are corrupt, there is a blemish in them,^d they will not be accepted for you.

²⁶Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ²⁷When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is born, it shall be seven days with its mother; and from the eighth day and after it may be accepted as a gift, an offering made by fire to Jehovah. Age of victim

I

THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF OFFERINGS

§ 196. Ordinary Animal Sacrifice (*Zēbhūch*), Ex. 10²⁴, ²⁵, 18¹², Dt. 12¹¹, Lev. 3^{1-7a}

Primitive Codes

Ex. 10 ²⁴Pharaoh summoned Moses, and said, Go ye, worship Jehovah; only let your flocks and your herds remain behind; let your little ones also go with you. ²⁵But Moses said, Thou must also give into our hand sacrifices and burnt-offerings, that we may sacrifice to Jehovah our God. Early precedents

18 ¹²Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for God, and Aaron came with all the elders of Israel to eat with Moses' father-in-law before God.

^a Lev. 22²¹ Lit., to fulfil a special vow.

^b Lev. 22²³ Or, superfluous or lacking.

^c Lev. 22²⁴ Lit., and in your land ye shall not do, i. e., sacrifice. Jos. interprets, nor shall ye do thus, i. e., practice any of these four methods of castrating animals. The former rendering does better justice to the text.

^d Lev. 22²⁵ Lit., their corruption is in them.

Different Forms of Offerings.—At least five distinct forms of sacrificial offerings can be distinguished in the earliest periods of Israel's history. The form chosen depended upon the occasion, the object of the offering, and to a great extent at first upon the feeling of the individual offerer. In the later ritual, however, the form of the sacrifice was definitely prescribed. Several of the earlier independent offerings were combined; thus the bloody sacrifices assumed the central place, and the cereal-offerings and the libations were required simply as accessories.

§ 196 By far the most common form of sacrifice both in the earlier and later periods was the ordinary private animal sacrifice in which the victim was killed by the offerer at the sanctuary. Probably before, as after the exile, the priest dashed its blood against the altar and burnt the fat upon the altar, as Jehovah's portion. A part went to the officiating priest in return for his services and the rest was consumed by the offerer, his family, friends, and dependents in the temple courts.

DT. 12¹¹] THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF OFFERINGS

Deuteronomic Codes

To be
pre-
sented
at the
temple

Dt. 12 ¹¹At the place in which Jehovah your God shall choose to have his name dwell, thither shall ye bring all that I command you: your burnt-offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the individual contributions of your hand,^e and your choice vows which ye vow to Jehovah.

Priestly Codes

Method
of pres-
enta-
tion

Lev. 3 ¹When a man's gift is a sacrifice of peace-offerings,^f if he bring it from the herd, whether male or female, he shall offer one that is without blemish before Jehovah. ²He shall lay his hand on the head of his offering and kill it at the entrance of the tent of meeting; and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall dash the blood against the altar round about. ³Then he shall present from the sacrifice of peace-offerings an offering made by fire to Jehovah; the fat that covereth the entrails, and all the fat that is about the entrails,⁴ and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them near the loins, and the fatty mass next to the liver, which mass he shall remove as far as the kidneys.^g ⁵Aaron's sons, the priests,^h shall burnⁱ it on the altar over the burnt-offering, which is upon the wood that is on the fire; it is an offering made by fire of an odor pleasing to Jehovah.

⁶If his gift as a sacrifice of peace-offerings to Jehovah be from the flock, a male or a female, he shall offer it without blemish. ⁷^aIf he bring a lamb as his offering, he shall present it before Jehovah.

§ 197. The Holocaust (*Ôlâh*), Gen. 8²⁰, Ex. 20²⁴, Dt. 27⁶, 12¹¹, 27^a, Lev. 13-17, 68-13

Primitive Code

An
early
prece-
dent

Gen. 8 ²⁰Noah built an altar to Jehovah, and took of every clean beast and of every clean bird, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar.

On
many
altars

Ex. 20 ²⁴An altar of earth thou shalt make to me, and shalt sacrifice on it thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen; in every place where I record my name I will come to thee and will bless thee.

Dt. 27 ⁶Thou shalt build the altar of Jehovah thy God of unhewn stones; and thou shalt offer burnt-offerings on it to Jehovah thy God.

Deuteronomic Codes

Only at
the
temple

Dt. 12 ¹¹At the place in which Jehovah your God shall choose to have his name dwell, thither shall ye bring all that I command you: your burnt-

^e Dt. 12¹¹ Lit., *reserved portions of your hands*.

^f Lev. 3¹ Or, *thank-offerings*. So vs. ⁶. The term denotes primarily a sacrifice in token of alliance or friendship. This law in 3^{1-7a} was probably found originally among the priestly directions.

^g Lev. 3⁴ Or, *with the kidneys*.

^h Lev. 3⁵ So Gk. Heb. omits, *the priests*.

ⁱ Lev. 3⁵ Lit., *cause it to ascend in smoke*.

§ 197 The holocaust or whole burnt-offering goes back to the beginnings of Heb. history. The entire animal was consumed on the altar that it might thus be given entirely to Jehovah. In the priestly codes the victim itself appears to have been slain by the offerer; but in later practice it was left to the priests. The priestly laws also specify very definitely the ritual to be observed by them.

Deuteronomic Codes

offerings, your sacrifices, your tithes, your individual contributions, and all your choice vows which ye vow to Jehovah. ^{27a}And thou shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, both the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of Jehovah thy God.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 1 ³If his gift be a burnt-offering from the herd, he shall offer a male^j without blemish; he shall present it at the entrance of the tent of meeting, that he may be accepted before Jehovah. ⁴He shall lay his hand on the head of the burnt-offering, and it shall be accepted in his behalf to make atonement for him. ⁵Then he^k shall kill the bullock before Jehovah; and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall bring the blood, and dash the blood round about against the altar that is at the entrance of the tent of meeting. ⁶Then he shall flay the burnt-offering and cut it into pieces. ⁷And Aaron's sons, the priests,^l shall put fire on the altar, and lay wood in order upon the fire; ⁸and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall lay the pieces, together with^m the head and the suet, in order upon the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar; ⁹but its entrails and its legs shall be washedⁿ with water. Then the priest shall burn the whole on the altar; it is^o a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah.

¹⁰If his gift be from the flock, a sheep or a goat^p as a burnt-offering, he shall offer a male without blemish.^q ¹¹And he shall kill it on the north side of the altar before Jehovah; and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall dash its blood against the altar round about. ¹²Then he shall cut^r it into pieces; and the priest^s shall lay them together with the head and the suet in order on the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar; ¹³but the entrails and the legs shall be washed with water. Then the priest shall offer the whole, and burn it upon the altar; it is a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah.

¹⁴If his gift to Jehovah be a bird^u as a burnt-offering, he shall bring as his offering a turtle-dove or a young pigeon.^v ¹⁵Then the priest shall bring it to the altar, and wring off its head, and burn it on the altar; its blood shall be drained out against the side of the altar; ¹⁶and he shall take away its crop with the feathers, and cast it into the ash-pit^w on the east side of the altar. ¹⁷Then he shall cleave it at its wings, without wholly severing them; and the priest shall burn it on the altar

^j Lev. 1³ Heb., *offer it a male*. So in ¹⁰. The law of Lev. 1 appears to come from the priestly directions and to have been adjusted to the groundwork.

^k Lev. 1⁵ Gk., *they shall kill*; so also in ¹¹. The Heb. may be rendered impersonally with the same meaning as the Gk., but the reading adopted accords with Arab. usage.

^l Lev. 1⁷ So Gk., Sam., and Syr. Heb., *priest*. It is possible that the priest alone figured in the original law and that *Aaron's sons* was added by a late editor.

^m Lev. 1⁸ So Gk., Sam., and Syr. Heb. omits, *together with*.

ⁿ Lev. 1⁹ The Heb. has the transitive form. The Gk. and Sam. have the plural. The evidence for plural form is rather slight, and it seems unlikely that anyone but the priests should perform this service, so that the above rendering seems to be the original.

^o Lev. 1⁹ So Gk., Sam., and Syr. Heb. lacks, *it is*.

^p Lev. 1¹⁰ Lit., *of the sheep or of the goats*.

^q Lev. 1¹⁰ Gk. adds, *and he shall lay his hand on its head*.

^r Lev. 1¹² Gk. and Syr. have the verb in plural.

^s Lev. 1¹² Gk., *the priests*.

^t Lev. 1¹⁴⁻¹⁷ A later supplement, as the title in ² implies.

^u Lev. 1¹⁴ Heb., *of birds*.

^v Lev. 1¹⁴ Heb., *of turtle-doves or of young pigeons*.

^w Lev. 1¹⁶ So Gk., Sam., and Vulg. The Heb. does not justify the translation, *filth*, as in

RV. By a slight correction the above reading is restored.

LEV. 1¹⁷] THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF OFFERINGS

Deuteronomic Codes

on the wood that is upon the fire; it is a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah.

Rules
regard-
ing the
daily
burnt-
offering

Lev. 6 ⁸Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ⁹Command Aaron and his sons as follows: 'This is the law concerning the burnt-offering: The burnt-offering shall remain on the hearth upon the altar all night until the morning; and the fire of the altar shall be kept burning by means of it. ¹⁰The priest shall clothe himself in his linen garment,^x and put on his linen breeches; and he shall take up the ashes to which the fire hath consumed the burnt-offering on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar. ¹¹Then he shall take off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry the ashes out of the camp to a clean place. ¹²The fire on the altar shall be kept burning by means of the burnt-offering, it shall not go out; the priest shall burn wood on it every morning; and he shall arrange the burnt-offering upon it, and shall burn on it the fat of the peace-offerings. ¹³Fire shall be kept burning on the altar continually; it shall not go out.'

§ 198. **Cereal-offerings**, Ex. 34^{25a} [23^{18a}], Nu. 15¹⁻¹⁶, Lev. 2^{1a}, 2b-16 [6¹⁵⁻²³]

Primitive Codes

With
animal
sacri-
fices

Ex. 34 ^{25a}Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread.

Priestly Code

To ac-
com-
pany
every
animal-
offering

Nu. 15 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses, ²Speak to the Israelites, and say to them, 'When ye come into the land of your dwellings, which I give you, ³and wish to make an offering made by fire to Jehovah, a burnt-offering, or a sacrifice, as a votive-offering^a or as a voluntary offering, or at your appointed seasons, to make an odor pleasing to Jehovah, from the herd or from the flock, ⁴then he who bringeth his offering shall present to Jehovah a cereal-offering of a tenth of an ephah of fine meal mixed with the fourth of a hin of oil; ⁵and as wine for the libation, the fourth of a hin shalt thou prepare with the burnt-offering or the sacrifice, for each lamb.^b ⁶Or for a ram, thou shalt prepare as a cereal-offering two-tenths of an ephah of fine meal mixed with a third of a hin of oil;^c ⁷for the libation thou shalt bring a third of a hin of wine, an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ⁸When thou preparest a bullock as a burnt-offering or as a sacrifice in fulfillment of a vow, or offered as any other form of peace-offerings^d to Jehovah, ⁹thou shalt^e offer with the bullock a

^x Lev. 6¹⁰ Syr., *garments*.

§ 198 Among the Babylonians the most common offerings were grain, fruit, and other products of the soil. In the earlier days these forms of offerings were also very common among the Hebs.; but in the priestly codes the cereal-offerings are only the necessary accompaniments of the animal sacrifices. Possibly they are assigned to this secondary place in the sacrificial system because grain was regarded as a product of the Canaanitish agricultural civilization, while animal sacrifices came from the flock and herd, and, therefore, were the gifts originally presented to Jehovah by the nomadic ancestors of the Hebs.

^a Nu. 15³ Lit., *to fulfil a special vow*.

^b Nu. 15⁵ The Gk. adds, *thou shalt do this as an offering of pleasant odor to Jehovah*.

^c Nu. 15⁶ Gk. adds, *when ye offer it for a burnt-offering or for a sacrifice*.

^d Nu. 15⁸ Lit., *for peace-offerings*.

^e Nu. 15⁹ Heb., *he shall*.

Priestly Code

cereal-offering of three-tenths of an ephah of fine meal mixed with half a hin of oil; ¹⁰thou shalt offer as the libation half a hin of wine, as an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah.^f

¹¹So shall it be done for each bullock, or for each ram, or for each of the male lambs, or of the kids. ¹²According to the number that ye shall prepare, so shall ye do in the case of every one according to their number. ¹³All who are native born shall do these things in this way, in offering an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ¹⁴If an alien reside among you, or if any one else be among you throughout your generations, and wish to present an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah; as ye do, so shall he do. ^{15a}There shall be but one statute for the assembly,^g both for you and for the alien who resideth among you, a statute forever throughout your generations; ye and the resident alien shall both be alike before Jehovah. ¹⁶There shall be one law and one regulation for you, and for the alien who resideth among you.^h

Lev. 2 ^{1a}If anyone presenteth a cereal-offering as a gift to Jehovah, the priest^h shall take from it a handful of the fine meal and oil, with all the frankincense. ^{2b}Then as a memorial of it the priest shall burn it on the altar, an offering made by fire of an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ³The remainder of the cereal-offering shall belong to Aaron and his sons; it is a thing most holy, being a part of the offerings made by fire to Jehovah.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Lev. 2 ⁴When thou bringest as a gift a cereal-offering baked in the oven, it shall be in the form of unleavened cakes of fine meal mixed with oil, or unleavened wafers smeared with oil. ⁵If thy gift be a cereal-offering baked on a flat plate, it shall consist of fine meal unleavened, mixed with oil. ⁶Thou shalt break it in pieces and pour oil on it; it is a cereal-offering. ⁷If thy gift be a cereal-offering prepared in a sauce-pan, it shall be made of fine meal with oil. ⁸Thou shalt bring the cereal-offering that is made in any of these waysⁱ to Jehovah; it shall be presented to the priest, and he shall bring it to the altar. ⁹Then the priest shall take up part of the cereal-offering as a memorial, and shall burn it on the altar, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ¹⁰The remainder of the cereal-offering shall belong to Aaron and his sons, as a thing most holy, being a part of the offerings made by fire to Jehovah.

¹¹No cereal-offering, which ye shall offer to Jehovah, shall be made with leaven; for ye shall offer^j neither leaven nor honey as an offering made by fire to Jehovah. ¹²As an offering of firstfruits ye shall bring them to Jehovah; but they shall not be burnt on the altar, to give forth a pleasant odor.^k

^f Nu. 15¹⁰ Most of this vs. is lacking in Gk.

^g Nu. 15¹⁵ Cf. § 22, note ^e.

^h Lev. 2² Heb., *he*. Cf. ⁹. The rest of the vs. as far as *frankincense* is perhaps a gloss.

ⁱ Lev. 2⁸ Or, *of these materials*.

^j Lev. 2¹¹ So Gk., Sam., Syr., and Targ. Heb., *cause to ascend in smoke*.

^k Lev. 2¹² Heb., *come up as a pleasant odor on the altar*.

LEV. 2¹³] THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF OFFERINGS

Supplemental Priestly Codes

¹³Every cereal-offering which thou offerest¹ shalt thou season with salt, nor shalt thou suffer the salt which betokeneth the covenant^m of thy God to be lacking from thy cereal-offering; with all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt. ¹⁴If thou offer a cereal-offering of firstfruits to Jehovah, thou shalt bring, as the cereal-offering of thy firstfruits, young ears of grain roasted at the fire and crushed.ⁿ ¹⁵Thou shalt pour oil on it, and lay frankincense on it; it is a cereal-offering. ¹⁶Then as a memorial of it, the priest shall burn some of the crushed grain and some of the oil, together with all the frankincense; it is an offering made by fire to Jehovah.

§ 199. Libations, Gen. 28¹⁸, 35¹⁴, Nu. 15^{3a}, b. 4^s, 5, 6^a, 7, 10 [Lev. 23¹³, Ex. 29^{41, 42}, Lev. 2, 6¹⁹⁻²³, Nu. 5¹⁵, 6¹⁵, 17]

Primitive Codes

Early prece-
dents Gen. 28 ¹⁸Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it.

³⁵ ¹⁴And Jacob set up at the place where God had spoken with him, a pillar of stone; and he poured a libation and oil upon it.

Priestly Codes

To ac-
com-
pany
all ani-
mal sacri-
fices Nu. 15 ^{3a}, ^bWhenever ye make an offering, by fire to Jehovah from the herd or flock, ^{4a}he who bringeth his offering to Jehovah shall offer ⁵wine for the libation, a fourth of a hin shalt thou prepare with the burnt-offering or the sacrifice, for each lamb.^o ^{6a}For a ram ⁷thou shalt offer as a libation a third of a hin of wine, as an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ¹⁰For a bullock thou shalt offer as the libation half a hin of wine, as an offering made by fire of an odor pleasing to Jehovah.

§ 200. Showbread, Ex. 25³⁰, Lev. 24⁵⁻⁹

Priestly Codes

Prep-
ara-
tion
and re-
newal Ex. 25 ³⁰Thou shalt set showbread on the table before me continually.

Lev. 24 ⁵Thou shalt take fine meal, and bake twelve cakes of it; two-tenths of an ephah shall be in each cake. ⁶Thou shalt set them in two rows,

¹ Lev. 2¹³ Lit., *every offering of thy cereal-offering*.

^m Lev. 2¹³ Lit., *salt of the covenant*.

ⁿ Lev. 2¹⁴ Or, *grits* (i. e., crushed grain) and fresh fruit.

§ 199 The references in the early Ephraimite prophetic narratives to libations indicate that they also were early forms of offering. Like the cereal-offerings they were originally presented independently. The Mishna speaks of a votive or voluntary offering of wine, cf. *Menahōth*, 12, also of oil; but the priestly laws provide that the libation be used only with private gifts which include animal sacrifices.

^o Nu. 15⁵ Gk. adds, *thou shalt make this offering as a pleasant odor to Jehovah*.

§ 200 Loaves of bread were placed before the gods in ancient Babylonia and Egypt. The institution also goes back to the beginnings of Heb. history, as the reference in I Sam. 21⁶ indicates. The later Jewish writings throw further light upon the post-exilic usage. The loaves were made of flour and water, without leaven and were shaped like a brick, seven fingers thick and ten handbreadths long and five wide. They were then piled on two trays, six loaves on each. When changed, care was taken that bread was always left on the table.

Priestly Codes

six in a row, on the table of pure^p gold before Jehovah. ⁷Thou shalt put pure frankincense on each row, that it may serve as a memorial of the bread, an offering made by fire to Jehovah. ⁸Every sabbath day the priest shall arrange it before Jehovah regularly, on behalf of the Israelites in token of an everlasting covenant. ⁹It shall belong to Aaron and his sons; and they shall eat it in a holy place, for it is the most holy to him of the offerings made by fire to Jehovah, an everlasting due.

§ 201. **Sacred Lamps and Incense**, Lev. 24¹⁻⁴ [27^{20, 21}, Lev. 10¹⁻⁷], Ex. 30⁷⁻⁹

Priestly Codes

Lev. 24 ¹Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ²Command the Israelites, that they bring to thee pure oil of beaten olive for the light, that the lamps may be lighted^q each day. ³Outside the curtain of the testimony, in the tent of meeting, shall Aaron keep it in order from evening to morning before Jehovah continually; it shall be a statute forever throughout your generations. ⁴He shall arrange the lamps on the lampstand of pure^r gold before Jehovah each day.

Care
of the
lamps

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Ex. 30 ⁷On the altar of incense Aaron shall burn incense of sweet spices; each morning, when he taketh care of the lamps, he shall burn it. ⁸When Aaron lighteth^s the lamps towards evening, he shall burn it as a perpetual incense before Jehovah throughout your generations. ⁹Ye shall offer no strange incense on it, nor burnt-offering, nor cereal-offering, and ye shall pour no libation on it.

^p Lev. 24⁶ Heb., *pure table*.

§ 201 Incense appears to have been introduced at a late period into the Jewish ritual. There are no clear traces of it before the exile. Then it became a regular accompaniment of every private offering, except that of the poor man. It was also, like the sacred lamp, a regular element in the daily service of the temple. Lev. 10¹⁻⁷ contains a traditional precedent illustrating the divine judgment upon those who depart from the rules laid down for the incense offering. Lev. 27^{20, 21} repeats the law of 24¹⁻⁴.

^q Lev. 24² Or, *be set in their places*; lit., *to cause a lamp to ascend continually*.

^r Lev. 24⁴ Lit., *pure lampstand*.

• Ex. 30⁸ Or, *setteth in their places*; lit., *causeth to ascend*.

II

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS

§ 202. Peace-offerings, Lev. 22²¹, 19⁵⁻⁸, 3¹, 6-16, 7¹¹⁻¹⁴ [15-19], 20, 21, 28-32*Holiness Code*From
the
herd

Lev. 22 ²¹Whoever bringeth a sacrifice of peace-offerings to Jehovah as a votive-offering or as a voluntary offering, from the herd or the flock, it must be perfect to be accepted; there must be no blemish in it.

Rules
for
eating

Lev. 19 ⁵When ye offer a sacrifice of peace-offerings to Jehovah, ye shall offer it so that ye may be accepted. ⁶It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it or on the following day; and if any of it remain until the third day, it shall be burnt with fire. ⁷If it be eaten on the third day, it is refuse; it shall not be accepted; ⁸but every one who eateth it shall be held guilty,^a because he hath profaned Jehovah's holy thing; that person shall be cut off from his people.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 3 ¹When a man's gift is a sacrifice of peace-offerings,^b if he bring it from the herd, whether male or female, he shall offer one that is without blemish before Jehovah.^c

Ritual
if from
the
flock

⁶If his gift as a sacrifice of peace-offerings to Jehovah be from the flock, a male or a female, he shall offer it without a blemish. ⁷If he bring a lamb

Different Kinds of Sacrificial Offerings.—The present classification is based on the occasion or object of the different kinds of sacrificial offerings. No classification of the various types of sacrifice is entirely satisfactory because of their complexity. Some were used only by private individuals, others only for public sacrifices, and others were both public and private. Among the private sacrifices were the peace-offerings, the sin- and guilt-offerings, thank-offerings, special gifts, libations and incense. The public sacrifices included the daily holocausts and accompanying offerings, the showbread, incense, the offerings on the sabbath, feast days and special occasions, the yearly sin-offering, the scape goat, the red cow and the sacrificial sin-offerings at the consecration of priests or the altar. The public sacrifices consisted simply of burnt- and sin-offerings, with occasional peace-offerings.

§ 202 Peace-offerings were the most common kind of private sacrifices. They are mentioned frequently in the earlier O.T. writings, *e. g.*, Ex. 32^d, I Sam. 10⁸, II Sam. 6¹⁷, 18, 24²⁵, I Kgs. 3¹⁵, 9²⁵. The same kind of sacrifices were also known to the Phœnicians, cf. Appendix VIII. The exact meaning of the Heb. word is not known. It was probably inherited from the Canaanites. In the Gk. translation of the historical books and in the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion it is derived from the verb meaning, *to be whole, safe, and is connected with the corresponding noun, peace*; hence the current translation, *peace-offerings*. The underlying conception seems to be that they were offerings intended to establish harmonious relations between the Deity and the individual offerer. The same kind of offerings (*shulmu*) are also frequently referred to in the Bab. texts, and many passages throw light upon the current ideas. The following extracts from ancient prayers are to the point: *Accept the gift he brings, receive his ransom money; let him walk before them on the ground of peace (shulme) 4 R. 54⁴⁷ or, May the man afflicted with fever be purified like shining metal by means of a gracious peace-offering, K. 246.*

Adoration, praise, thanksgiving, the desire for physical healing or forgiveness, all found expression in ancient times through the peace-offering. It is prayer expressed in the terms of the ritual. In keeping with this idea we find the peace-offerings sometimes especially designated as *voluntary offerings, votive-offerings, and thank-offerings*, to which the Rabbis added the *pilgrimage or festival sacrifices*, which were offered when the people resorted to the sanctuary at the annual feasts.

^a Lev. 19⁸ Lit., *shall bear [the consequences of] his iniquity.*

^b Lev. 3¹ The laws in 3 and 7 were originally found in the collection of priestly directions, cf. *Introd.*, p. 44.

^c Lev. 3¹ Cf. § 196. The method of procedure in offering an animal from the herd was the same as with a lamb

Priestly Codes

as his offering, he shall present it before Jehovah; ⁸he shall lay his hand on the head of his offering, and kill it before the tent of meeting, and Aaron's sons the priests shall dash the blood against the altar round about. ⁹Then he shall present from the sacrifice of peace-offerings, as an offering made by fire to Jehovah, the fat of the lamb, the fat tail entire, which he shall remove close to the back-bone, and the fat that covereth the entrails, and all the fat that is about the entrails, ¹⁰and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, near the loins, and the fatty mass next to the liver, which mass he shall remove as far as the kidneys.^d ¹¹Then the priest shall burn it on the altar; it is the food given as an offering made by fire to Jehovah.

¹²If his gift be a goat, then he shall present it before Jehovah; ¹³he shall lay his hand on its head and kill it before the tent of meeting; and Aaron's sons the priests, shall dash the blood against the altar round about.^e ¹⁴Then he shall offer from it his gift, as an offering made by fire to Jehovah: the fat that covereth the entrails, and all the fat that is about the entrails, ¹⁵and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, near the loins, and the fatty mass next to the liver, which mass he shall remove as far as the kidneys. ¹⁶The priest shall burn them on the altar; it is the food given as an offering made by fire, of a pleasant odor;^f all the fat belongeth to Jehovah.

⁷ ¹¹This is the law concerning the sacrifice of peace-offerings which one may offer to Jehovah: ¹²If he offer it as a thank-offering, he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened cakes mixed with oil, and unleavened wafers smeared with oil, and cakes mixed with oil, of fine meal well mixed; ¹³with cakes of leavened bread in addition to the sacrifice of his peace-offerings which are given as a thank-offering, shall he present his gift. ¹⁴And out of his offering he shall present one cake of each kind as a contribution^g to Jehovah; it shall belong to the priest who dasheth the blood of the peace-offerings.

²⁰A person who eateth of the meat of the sacrifice of peace-offerings, which belong to Jehovah, while he is unclean,^h shall be cut off from his own people. ²¹When any one toucheth any unclean thing, the uncleanness of man, or any unclean beast, or any unclean swarming creature,ⁱ and then eateth of the meat of the sacrifice of peace-offerings, which belong to Jehovah, that one shall be cut off from his own people.

²⁸Jehovah gave this command to Moses, ²⁹Say to the Israelites, 'He who sacrificeth his peace-offerings to Jehovah shall bring his gift to Jehovah out of the peace-offerings^j which he sacrificeth; ³⁰with his own hands he shall bring the offerings to be made by fire to Jehovah; the fat with the breast shall he bring, that the breast may be waved as a wave-offering before Je-

^d Lev. 31⁰ Or, with the kidneys. So ¹⁵.

^e Lev. 31³ Cf. ⁵.

^f Lev. 31⁶ Gk. adds, to Jehovah. Possibly the next phrase is a marginal gloss, and the sentence should end with the words as an odor pleasing to Jehovah.

^g Lev. 71⁴ Lit., something lifted up, and so set apart, a contribution or a reserved portion.

^h Lev. 72⁰ Lit., and his uncleanness is on him.

ⁱ Lev. 72¹ So Syr., Sam., and Targ. Heb. and Gk., detested thing.

^j Lev. 72⁹⁻³² These vss. are from a later hand than the preceding.

LEV. 7³⁰] THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF OFFERINGS

Priestly Codes

hovah.^k ³¹The priest shall burn the fat on the altar, but the breast shall belong to Aaron and his sons. ³²And the right thigh shall ye give to the priest as a contribution out of the peace-offerings which ye sacrifice.

§ 203. **Guilt-offerings**, Lev. 19²⁰⁻²², 5¹⁴⁻¹⁹, 6¹⁻⁷ [Nu. 5⁵⁻⁸], Lev. 7¹⁻⁷

Holiness Code

A
moral
offence

Lev. 19 ²⁰If any man lieth carnally with a woman, who is a slave, betrothed to another man, but who hath in nowise been redeemed nor given her freedom, there shall be a judicial inquiry, but they shall not be put to death, because she was not free.

Priestly Codes

Its ex-
piation

Lev. 19 ²¹The man shall bring his guilt-offering to Jehovah, to the entrance of the tent of meeting, a ram as a guilt-offering; ²²and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt-offering before Jehovah for his sin which he hath committed; and the sin which he hath committed shall be forgiven him.

Of fail-
ure to
meet
the de-
mands
of the
ritual

5 ¹⁴Jehovah spoke thus to Moses: ¹⁵If any one commit a treacherous act, and sin inadvertently with respect to the holy things of Jehovah,¹ he shall bring from the flock as his guilt-offering to Jehovah, a ram without blemish, according to thy valuation, by the shekel of the sanctuary, as a guilt-offering; ¹⁶he shall also make restitution for his sin in connection with the holy thing, and shall add a fifth to the amount, and give it to the priest. Then the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt-offering, and he shall be forgiven.

Expi-
ation
of any
offence

¹⁷If any one sin,^m by doing any of the things which Jehovah hath forbidden,ⁿ even without being aware of it, yet is he guilty and shall bear the consequences of his iniquity. ¹⁸He shall bring to the priest a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy valuation,^o as a guilt-offering. Then the priest shall make atonement for him on account of the error which he hath inadvertently committed without being aware of it, and he shall be forgiven. ¹⁹It is a guilt-offering for he is guilty before Jehovah.

^k Lev. 7³⁰ *I. e.*, swung toward the altar and back to symbolize the presentation of this portion of the offering to Jehovah, and his return of it to the priest. Later the term lost the original significance which seems to be found here.

§ 203 The guilt-offering appears to be a very ancient institution. According to I Sam. 6 the Philistines sent back a guilt-offering with the ark to avert the wrath of Jehovah, because they had desecrated his sacred palladium. The guilt-offerings in II Kgs. 12¹⁶ are paid in money to the temple treasury. In the latter passage, as frequently, the guilt- and sin-offerings are closely associated. The laws do not make the distinction between the two entirely clear. The original object of the guilt-offering appears to have been to make restitution to anyone, whether man or God, for the infringement of his rights or for theft or injury to his property. The wrong might be done intentionally or unintentionally. In either case the offender must make reparation. If the offence was against the property or rights of another man, restitution was due not only to the man wronged but also to Jehovah, whose laws had been disobeyed.

¹ Lev. 5¹⁶ *I. e.*, by keeping back gifts due to sanctuary and portions due to priests.

^m Lev. 5¹⁷⁻¹⁹ These vss. were taken from the priestly directions.

ⁿ Lev. 5¹⁷ *Lit.*, *commanded not to be done*.

^o Lev. 5¹⁸ *I. e.*, to be accepted, subject to Moses' estimation of its value, as sufficient.

Priestly Codes

6 ¹Jehovah spoke thus to Moses,^p ²If anyone sin, and break faith with Jehovah, by deceiving his neighbor in regard to a deposit, or a pledge, or by robbing or defrauding his neighbor,³ or if he have found something which was lost, and deny it and perjure himself,⁴ if by doing any one of these things a man hath sinned and so is guilty,^q he shall restore that which he took by robbery, or the thing which he obtained by fraud, or the deposit which was entrusted to him, or the lost thing which he found,⁵ or anything about which he swore falsely, he shall restore it in full, and shall add to it a fifth more; he shall give it to its rightful owner on the day that he is found guilty.^r ⁶He shall also bring to the priest his guilt-offering for Jehovah, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy valuation, as a guilt-offering.⁷ Then the priest shall make atonement for him before Jehovah, and he shall be forgiven for whatever he may have done to incur guilt.

7 ¹This is the law concerning the guilt-offering: It is most holy; ²in the place where they kill the burnt-offering shall they kill the guilt-offering, and the priest shall dash its blood against the altar round about. ³He shall offer all of its fat: the fat tail, and the fat that covereth the entrails,⁴ and the two kidneys, and the fat on them near the loins, and the fatty mass next to the liver, which mass he shall remove as far as the kidneys. ⁵Then the priest shall burn them on the altar as an offering made by fire to Jehovah; it is a guilt-offering. ⁶Any male among the priests may eat of it; it shall be eaten in a holy place; it is most holy. ⁷The guilt-offering is like the sin-offering; there is one law for both; the priest who maketh atonement with it shall have it.

§ 204. Sin-offerings, Lev. 5¹⁻¹³, Nu. 15²²⁻³¹, Lev. 4¹⁻³¹ [32-35, 9¹¹], 8^{14, 15} [10¹⁶⁻²⁰], 6²⁴⁻³⁰

Priestly Codes

Lev. 5 ¹If any one sin, when under oath as a witness, by failing to give information concerning what he hath seen or known, he shall bear the consequences of his iniquity. ²Or if any one touch any unclean thing, either the carcass of an unclean beast, or the carcass of an unclean domestic animal, or

^p Lev. 6¹ Heb. 5²⁰.

^q Lev. 6⁴ Heb., *in any of all these things by doing which a man sinneth*.

^r Lev. 6⁵ Or, *when he bringeth his guilt-offering*; lit., *in the day of his guilt*.

§ 204 The designation *sin-offering* is misleading, for these regulations do not contemplate deliberate transgressions of the moral law, but rather provide, (1) for purification in cases of ceremonial uncleanness as for example, childbirth or contact with a dead body. The Mishna assumes that these offences were committed inadvertently. In the second place the sin-offerings anticipate certain ignorant or unintentional transgressions of the moral or ceremonial laws. They aimed to restore the individual thus defiled to his normal relations with Jehovah and the community.

While they are mentioned in II Kgs. 12¹⁰, the sin-offerings do not appear to have been prominent in the early Heb. ritual. They reflect rather the influence of the exile and the growing emphasis on ceremonialism which characterizes later Judaism. In practice these laws must have powerfully impressed upon the minds of the people the necessity of conforming in every detail to the ritual; and, in turn, they doubtless presented a very definite and acceptable way of gaining the sense of divine approval. The later supplements provide that less expensive offerings may be presented by the poorer members of the community. The late law of Lev. 4 also prescribes the ritual to be observed for the cleansing of the community; Lev. 9 contains a traditional precedent, which belongs to the priestly groundwork.

Priestly Codes

the carcass of an unclean swarming creature,^s and the fact be hidden from him, if later he become aware of it,^t and so become guilty;^u ³or if he touch the uncleanness of man, whatever it be,^v and the fact be hidden from him; if later he become aware of it, and so become guilty; ⁴or if any one swear rashly with his lips whether to do evil or to do good, in any case^w where a man uttereth a rash oath, and the fact be hidden from him; if later he become aware of it, and so become guilty in a case of this sort, ⁵when he hath incurred guilt through any one of these causes, he shall confess the sin which he hath committed. ⁶He shall bring to Jehovah as the penalty for the sin which he hath committed,^x a female lamb or goat from the flock as a sin-offering, and the priest shall make atonement for him on account of his sin.

Poor man's offering 7If he cannot afford a lamb,^a he shall bring to Jehovah as the penalty for the sin which he hath committed, two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, one as a sin-offering and the other as a burnt-offering. ⁸He shall bring them to the priest, who shall offer that which is for the sin-offering first, and nip off its head at the neck, without wholly severing it. ⁹He shall sprinkle some of the blood of the sin-offering against the side of the altar, and the rest of the blood shall be drained out at the base of the altar; it is a sin-offering. ¹⁰Then he shall offer the second as a burnt-offering, according to the ordinance.^b Thus the priest shall make atonement for him on account of the sin which he hath committed, and he shall be forgiven.

For those extremely poor 11But if he cannot afford two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, he shall bring as his offering for the sin which he hath committed, a tenth of an ephah of fine meal as a sin-offering, without pouring any oil on it, or laying any frankincense on it, for it is a sin-offering. ¹²He shall bring it to the priest, and as a memorial the priest shall take a handful of it, and burn it on the altar, upon the offerings of Jehovah made by fire; it is a sin-offering. ¹³Thus the priest shall make atonement for him on account of the sin which he hath committed through any of these causes, and he shall be forgiven; and the rest shall belong to the priest, just as in the case of the cereal-offering.

For offences of the community Nu. 15 ²²When ye err, and fail to do any of these commands, which Jehovah hath spoken to Moses, ²³even all that Jehovah hath commanded you through Moses, from the day that Jehovah gave command, and onward through your generations, ²⁴then if the sin be committed inadvertently, without the knowledge of the congregation, all the congregation shall offer one young bullock as a burnt-offering, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah, together with the accompanying cereal-offering and libation, according to the ordinance, and one male goat as a sin-offering. ²⁵Then the priest shall make atonement for all the congregation of the Israelites, and they shall be forgiven; for it was an error, and they have brought their gift, an offering

^s Lev. 5² The Gk. omits the remainder of this vs. It is probably a gloss.

^t Lev. 5² Heb., and he is unclean. But cf. 3^b, 4^b.

^u Lev. 5² Or, when he becomes aware of it he shall be guilty. So 3, 4.

^v Lev. 5³ Lit., his uncleanness with which he is unclean.

^w Lev. 5⁴ I. e., any sort of rash oath.

^x Lev. 5⁶ So 7; elsewhere translated, guilt-offering.

^a Lev. 5⁹ Lit., if his hand do not reach enough for a lamb.

^b Lev. 5¹⁰ I. e., the manner prescribed in 1¹⁹ ff.

Priestly Codes

made by fire to Jehovah, and their sin-offering before Jehovah, for their error. ²⁶Thus all the congregation of the Israelites shall be forgiven and the alien who resideth among them, for all the people are answerable for what is done inadvertently.^c

²⁷If a person sin inadvertently, he shall offer a female goat a year old as a sin-offering. ²⁸The priest shall make atonement before Jehovah for the person who erreth, when he sinneth inadvertently, to atone for him, and he shall be forgiven.^d ²⁹Ye shall have one law for him who sinneth^e inadvertently both for him who is native born among the Israelites and for the alien who resideth among them. ³⁰But the person who sinneth presumptuously,^f whether he be native born or a resident alien, the same blasphemeth Jehovah; that person shall be cut off from among his people. ³¹Because he hath despised the word of Jehovah and hath broken his command, that person shall be utterly cut off; he shall bear his punishment.

Same law for native born and resident alien

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Lev. 4 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ²Speak thus to the Israelites, 'When any one sins inadvertently, by doing any one of the things which Jehovah hath forbidden,^g ³if it be the anointed priest who hath sinned, so as to bring guilt on the people, he shall offer to Jehovah for the sin which he hath committed, a young bullock without blemish as a sin-offering. ⁴He shall bring the bullock to the entrance of the tent of meeting before Jehovah, and shall lay his hand on the head of the bullock, and kill the bullock before Jehovah. ⁵Then the anointed priest shall take some of the blood of the bullock, and bring it into the tent of meeting; ⁶and the priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle some of the blood seven times before Jehovah, before the curtain of the sanctuary. ⁷The priest shall put some of the blood on the horns of the altar of sweet incense, which is before Jehovah in the tent of meeting. ⁸All the fat of the bullock of the sin-offering he shall take away from it: the fat that covereth the entrails,^h and all the fat that is about the entrails,ⁱ and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, near the loins, and the fatty mass next to the liver, which mass he shall remove as far as the kidneys, ¹⁰as it is taken away from the ox in sacrificing peace-offerings; and the priest shall burn^j them on the altar of burnt-offering. ¹¹The hide of the bullock, and all its flesh, with its head, and its legs, and its entrails with their contents, ¹²even the whole bullock shall be carried^k forth outside the camp to a clean place, where the ashes are thrown out, and he shall burn it on wood with fire; where the ashes are thrown out shall it be burnt.

¹³And if the whole congregation of Israel err inadvertently, and their error

^c Nu. 15²⁶ Lit., for to all the people [belongeth what was committed] in error.

^d Nu. 15²⁸ The Gk. omits the last clause.

^e Nu. 15²⁹ Heb., doeth.

^f Nu. 15³⁰ Lit., doeth with a high hand.

^g Lev. 4² Lit., commanded not to be done. So 22, 27.

^h Lev. 4⁸ The remainder of ⁸ and ⁹ is possibly a gloss.

ⁱ Lev. 4¹⁰ Heb., cause them to ascend in smoke.

^j Lev. 4¹² Heb., shall he carry.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

For the community be hid from the eyes of the assembly, and if they have done any of the things which Jehovah hath forbidden and so become guilty, ¹⁴when the sin which they have committed is known, the assembly shall offer a young bullock as a sin-offering, and bring it before the tent of meeting. ¹⁵And the elders of the congregation shall lay their hands on the head of the bullock before Jehovah, and one of them shall kill the bullock before Jehovah. ¹⁶And the anointed priest shall bring some of the blood of the bullock to the tent of meeting, ¹⁷and the priest shall dip his finger in the blood and sprinkle it seven times before Jehovah, before the veil. ¹⁸And he shall put some of the blood on the horns of the altar which is before Jehovah, in the tent of meeting; but all the rest of the blood he shall pour out at the base of the altar of burnt-offering, which is at the entrance of the tent of meeting. ¹⁹And all the fat of the bullock he shall separate from it, and burn it upon the altar. ²⁰Thus shall he do with the bullock; as he did with the bullock of the sin-offering, so shall he do with this; and the priest shall make atonement for them, and they shall be forgiven. ²¹And the bullock shall be carried out of the camp and burnt, as the first bullock was burnt; it is a sin-offering for the assembly.

For a ruler ²²When a ruler sinneth, and is guilty of doing any one of the things which Jehovah his God hath forbidden and so is guilty, ²³if his sin, which he hath committed, be made known to him, he shall bring for his gift a male goat without blemish. ²⁴And he shall lay his hand on the head of the goat, and kill it in the place where they kill the burnt-offering before Jehovah; it is a sin-offering. ²⁵And the priest shall take some of the blood of the sin-offering with his finger and put it on the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, and the rest of the blood he shall pour out at the base of the altar of burnt-offering; ²⁶and all the fat shall he burn on the altar, as the fat of the sacrifice of peace-offerings. Thus the priest shall make atonement for him on account of his sin, and he shall be forgiven.

For a private individual ²⁷If any one of the common people^k sin inadvertently, by doing any of the things which Jehovah hath forbidden, and so become guilty, ²⁸and later his sin, which he hath committed, be made known to him, he shall bring as his offering a goat, a female without blemish, for his sin which he hath committed. ²⁹He shall lay his hand on the head of the sin-offering, and kill the sin-offering at the place where the burnt-offering is killed. ³⁰Then the priest shall take some of the blood with his finger, and put it on the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, and all the rest of the blood shall he pour out at the base of the altar. ³¹And all the fat shall he take away, as the fat is taken away from the sacrifice of peace-offerings; the priest shall burn it on the altar as an odor pleasing to Jehovah. Thus the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be forgiven.¹

For the purifying of the altar **Lev. 8** ¹⁴Then the bullock of the sin-offering was brought, and Aaron and his sons laid their hands on the head of the bullock of the sin-offering; ¹⁵and Moses slew it, and took the blood, and put it on the horns of the altar

^k Lev. 4²⁷ Heb., *people of the land*.

¹ Lev. 4³¹ The law in 32-35 gives the same directions in case the sacrificial victim is a lamb.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

round about with his finger, and so purified the altar from sin, and poured out the rest of the blood at the base of the altar and so consecrated it, making atonement for it.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 6 ²⁴Jehovah said to Moses: Speak to Aaron and to his sons, and say to them, 'This is the law of the sin-offering: In the place where the burnt-offering is killed shall the sin-offering be killed before Jehovah; it is most holy. ²⁶The priest who offers it for sin shall eat it; in a holy place shall it be eaten, in the court of the tent of meeting. ²⁷Whoever toucheth the flesh of it shall become holy; and if any of the blood of it shall be sprinkled on a garment, thou shalt wash the garment thus sprinkled in a holy place. ²⁸And every earthen vessel in which the flesh hath been boiled shall be broken; and if it be boiled in a bronze vessel, this shall be scoured, and rinsed with water. ²⁹Any male among the priests may eat of it; it is most holy.^m ³⁰And no sin-offering, of which any of the blood is brought into the tent of meeting to make atonement in the holy place, shall be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire.'^a

Disposal of the sin-offering

§ 205. The Yearly Sin-offering, Nu. 16^{29-34a} [1-28]*Priestly Codes*

Nu. 16 ²⁹It shall be an everlasting statute for you: On the tenth day of the seventh month, ye shall afflict yourselves, and shall do no work at all, whether it be the native born or the alien who resideth among you; ³⁰for on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; ye shall be cleansed from all your sins before Jehovah. ³¹It is a sabbath of complete rest for you, and ye shall afflict yourselves; it is a statute forever. ³²And the high priest who shall be anointed and installed as priest in his father's place shall make the atonement, and shall put on the holy linen garments; ³³and he shall make atonement for the holy sanctuary; and he shall make atonement for the tent of meeting, and for the altar; and he shall make atonement for the priests, and for all the people of the assembly. ^{34a}And this shall be an everlasting statute for you, that atonement be made for the Israelites because of all their sins once every year.

Ritual of cleansing for people and sanctuary

§ 206. The Red Cow, Nu. 19¹⁻¹³ [14-22, 31²¹⁻²⁴]*Supplemental Priestly Codes*

Nu. 19 ¹Jehovah spoke thus to Moses and Aaron: ²This is the statute of the law which Jehovah hath commanded, 'Speak^o to the Israelites, that

Preparation of the water of cleansing

^m Lev. 6²⁴⁻²⁹ The basis of this law is the earlier priestly directions.

^a Lev. 6³⁰ This vs. is an awkward addition to the preceding law.

§ 205 For the detailed ceremony to be observed on the great day of atonement, cf. § 221.

§ 206 This rite, like the kindred one in Dt. 21¹⁻⁵, § 181, is evidently very old. In both

cases the rôle of the priest is unimportant. He has evidently been introduced by the later lawgivers to give a deeper religious significance to the institution. Originally private individuals probably attended to all the details. The belief that a corpse brought ceremonial defilement to all with which it came in contact was widely held by primitive peoples, cf. § 181. Hos. 9¹, as well as the law of Dt. 21¹⁻⁵, indicates that the early Hebrews shared it. In the

^o Nu. 19² Heb., *Speak thou*; Moses alone is addressed and Aaron is disregarded. The plural subject is resumed in ³, but the Gk. has the singular.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

they bring thee a red cow,^p faultless in which there is no blemish, and upon which a yoke hath never come. ³And ye shall give her to Eleazar^q the priest, and she shall be taken outside the camp and be slain before him; ⁴and Eleazar the priest shall take some of her blood with his finger, and sprinkle it toward the front of the tent of meeting seven times. ⁵Then the cow shall be burnt in his sight; her hide and her flesh, and her blood,^r with her dung, shall he burn. ⁶And the priest shall take cedar wood, hyssop,^s and scarlet thread, and cast them into the midst of the burning carcass of the cow. ⁷Then the priest shall wash his clothes and bathe his flesh in water, and afterwards he shall come into the camp, and the priest shall be unclean until evening. ⁸And he that burneth her shall wash his clothes and bathe his flesh in water, and shall be unclean until evening. ⁹And a man ceremonially clean shall collect the ashes of the cow and lay them up without the camp in a clean place; and it shall be kept for the congregation of the Israelites as a water for the removal of impurity; it is a means of removing sin. ¹⁰And he who collecteth the ashes of the cow shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the evening; and it shall be for the Israelites and the alien who resideth among them, a statute forever.

Its use ¹¹He that toucheth the dead, even any human corpse, shall be unclean seven days; ¹²that one must purify himself therewith on the third day and on the seventh day, and so become clean; but if he do not purify himself the third day and on the seventh, he will not become clean. ¹³Every one who toucheth a dead person, the corpse of any man who may have died, and doth not purify himself, defileth the dwelling of Jehovah. That person shall be cut off from Israel; because the water for impurity was not thrown over^t him, he shall be unclean; his uncleanness is yet upon him.

older and yet in many respects parallel regulation of Dt. 21, moral as well as ceremonial guilt is assumed; but in both cases a young cow (in Dt., *heifer*), which has done no work nor borne the yoke, is sacrificed. While the institution is evidently very old and may well come from an age when it was thought necessary to sacrifice to the spirit of the dead lest he take vengeance upon the living (cf. Bewer in *JBL* XXIV., 1 pp. 41-44), the law in Nu. 19¹⁻¹³ reveals the marks of late priestly adaptation. Its object is purely ceremonial cleansing. The sacrifice takes the form of a whole burnt-offering. Cedar wood, hyssop and scarlet thread, used in the cleansing of lepers, Lev. 14, are added to the mixture. These may be simply symbolic, or may represent primitive survivals or later importations.

The closest parallel to the rite as a whole is the Roman custom of using the ashes of calves in lustration, Ovid, *Fast.* IV. 639, 725, 733. Cows' urine was also frequently employed in India for ceremonial purification, cf. Gray, *Numbers*, 246, 247. Red oxen were required for certain sacrifices by the Egyptians. It seems clear that in this law several primitive *motifs* have been combined and adapted by the priestly lawgivers to the higher religious ends. The exact meaning of all the symbolism is not certain. The final product, *the water for the removal of impurity*, contained and therefore represented sacrificial blood and flesh and the whole burnt-offering, as well as medicating herbs, and therefore symbolized the methods of ceremonial purification in vogue in later priestly codes. Aside from the subsequent detailed directions, ¹⁴⁻²² regarding the use of the water of purification in the case of contact with a corpse, cf. § 181, and in the late law regarding the purification of the spoils of war, Nu. 31²³, § 184, there is no reference to this rite in the O.T. Hence if ancient, it was only at a later period inserted in the Pentateuch.

^p Nu. 19² Not necessarily a heifer, as the current translations assume without any support in the Heb.

^q Nu. 19³ Eleazar, not Aaron, is appointed to this task, for it involves ceremonial pollution.

^r Nu. 19⁵ This is the only case in the O.T. law when the blood was burnt; the reason is because the ashes were later used for purification, or else it is a survival from a primitive age when the blood as well as the flesh was consumed in the burnt-offering.

^s Nu. 19⁶ *Hyssop* is but a late conjecture of the Talmudists. From I Kgs. 4³³ it may be inferred that it was a climbing plant.

^t Nu. 19¹³ The verb means to throw in copious quantities.

§ 207. **Leprosy Offering**, Lev. 14^{2-7, 10} [11-20], 21-23 [24-32, 46-52]

Priestly Codes

Lev. 14 ²This shall be the law of the leper in the day when he is cleansed: ³and the priest shall go out of the camp; ⁴and the priest shall look, and if the mark of leprosy be healed in the leper, ⁵the priest shall command to take for him who is to be cleansed two living clean birds, cedar wood, scarlet, and hyssop; ⁶and the priest shall command to kill one of the birds in an earthen vessel over running water. ⁷He shall then take the living bird, the cedar wood, the scarlet and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood of the bird that was killed over the running water; ⁸and he shall sprinkle the blood seven times upon him who is to be cleansed from the leprosy, and shall pronounce him clean; then he shall set free the living bird in the open field. ¹⁰And on the eighth day the cleansed leper shall take two male lambs without blemish, and one female lamb a year old without blemish, and as a cereal-offering, three-tenths of an ephah of fine meal mixed with oil, and one log of oil.

²¹And if the cleansed leper be poor, and his means are not sufficient for this, he shall take one male lamb as a guilt-offering to be waved, to make atonement for him, and one-tenth of an ephah of fine meal mixed with oil as a cereal-offering, and a log^u of oil, ²²and two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, as his means permit; and the one shall be a sin-offering and the other a burnt-offering. ²³And on the eighth day he shall bring them for his cleansing to the priest, at the entrance of the tent of meeting, before Jehovah.^v

§ 208. **Jealousy Offering**, Nu. 5^{12b, 13a, c, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26a, 27b, 31}

Priestly Codes

Nu. 5 ^{12b}If a man's wife turn aside and is unfaithful to him, ^{13a, c}and a man enter into illicit relations with her and it be hid from her husband, and there be no witness against her and she be not caught in the act, ¹⁵then the man shall take his wife to the priest, and shall bring an offering for her, the tenth of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it nor put frankincense on it for it is a cereal-offering of jealousy, a memorial cereal-offering, bringing iniquity to remembrance.

¹⁸Then the priest shall place the woman before Jehovah, and loosen the hair of her head, and put in her hands the memorial cereal-offering, which is the cereal-offering of jealousy, and the priest shall hold in his hand the water of bitterness which causeth the curse. ²¹Then the priest shall make the woman swear with the oath of execration, and the priest shall say to the woman, Jehovah make you an execration and an oath among thy people, when Jehovah causeth your thigh to fall away, and your body to swell.

§ 204 For the full details regarding the presentation of the different leprosy offerings, cf. § 179.

^u Lev. 14²¹ According to the Rabbis a little less than a pint.

^v Lev. 14²¹⁻²³ Possibly this provision for the poor man's offering is a later addition.

§ 208 For the origin and analysis of the law cf. note § 70.

Priestly Codes

Water
of bit-
terness

²³Then the priest shall write these execrations in a book, and he shall wipe them off into the water of bitterness, ²⁴and he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness that causeth the curse, so that the water that causeth the curse may enter into her and become bitter. ^{26a}The priest shall also take a handful of the cereal-offering, as its memorial-offering, and burn it upon the altar. ^{27b}Thus the woman shall become an execration among her people. ³¹The man shall be free from guilt, but the woman must bear her own guilt.

§ 209. The Daily Sacrifice, Ex. 29³⁸⁻⁴² [Nu. 28¹⁻⁸], Ex. 30^{7, 8}

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Morn-
ing of-
fering

Ex. 29 ³⁸Now this is what thou shalt offer upon the altar: two yearling lambs regularly each day. ³⁹One lamb thou shalt offer in the morning, and the other lamb thou shalt offer towards evening; ⁴⁰and with the one lamb a tenth of an ephah of fine meal mixed with the fourth of a hin of beaten oil, and the fourth of a hin of wine as a libation.

Even-
ing of-
fering

⁴¹The other lamb thou shalt offer towards evening, and shalt deal with it as with the cereal-offering of the morning and its libation, as a pleasant odor, an offering made by fire to Jehovah. ⁴²It shall be a regular burnt-offering throughout your generations at the entrance of the tent of meeting before Jehovah, where I will meet with thee,^w to speak there to thee.^x

Incense
and
lamps

Ex. 30 ⁷On the altar of incense Aaron shall burn incense of sweet spices; each morning, when he taketh care of the lamps, he shall burn it. ⁸When Aaron lighteth the lamps towards evening, he shall burn it as a perpetual incense before Jehovah throughout your generations.

§ 209 Neh. 10²³ seems to imply that in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah but one animal was offered daily. Before the exile the daily offering consisted of a burnt-offering in the morning and a cereal-offering in the evening, II Kgs. 16¹⁵. Ezek. assigns both of these offerings to the morning. The Chronicler, however, speaks of two burnt-offerings, I Chr. 16⁴⁰, II Chr. 13¹¹, 31³. It would appear that the double offering was introduced some time after 400 B.C. and that these laws, therefore, belong to the latest supplements to the priestly codes.

^w Ex. 29⁴² So Gk., Syr., and Sam. Heb., *you*.

^x Ex. 29⁴² Gk., *reveal myself to you*.

I

THE PRE-EXILIC SACRED CALENDAR

§ 210. The Sabbath, Ex. 34²¹, 23¹² [20⁸⁻¹¹], Dt. 5¹²⁻¹⁵*Primitive Codes*

Ex. 34²¹ Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest; in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.

Seventh
day of
rest

The Pre-Exilic Sacred Calendar.—The external religious life of most peoples of antiquity centred about certain great festivals. This fact is especially true of the Semitic nations. In the earliest days the festivals were supremely significant, since they represented the united worship of the family or tribe or nation. Through them the bond between the different members of the community was strengthened by social intercourse and common feasting, merrymaking and worship. The joyous element was also very prominent. *To rejoice before Jehovah*, is the ordinary idiom used in Dt. to describe a feast. Songs, music, dancing, drinking and processions probably all entered into the great sacrificial meals, cf. Am. 2⁸, 5²¹, Judg. 21¹⁹, Is. 28⁷⁻⁸, I Sam. 1¹⁴. At these times, also, the covenant between Jehovah and his people was renewed, as the men and women brought up their gifts as tribute to their Divine King.

In the early period there were three great annual festivals. The oft-reiterated command, *Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord Jehovah, the God of Israel*, belongs to the oldest decalogues. It voices one of the fundamental requirements of Israel's primitive faith. In addition to the early festivals, the new moon and the sabbath apparently also date from Israel's earliest historical period. The moon, called by the Hebrews *the wanderer*, not only fixed by its different phases the calendar, but also seems to have occupied a central place in the religion of its ancestors, Sin, the moon god, at Ur and Haran, whence the Heb. traditions trace the origin of their ancestors. Sin, the moon god, was the chief deity. Even the sacred Mount Sinai bears the name of the moon god. Job 31²⁶ refers to the worship of the moon; cf. also Ezek. 8¹⁴ and Is. 3¹⁸. The new moon festival is frequently mentioned in the earliest O.T. books, and was clearly one of the oldest of Israel's institutions; it was, in fact, shared with all primitive Semitic peoples. According to I Sam. 20⁴⁻⁶, 27, 34 it was celebrated by the clan with sacrificial offerings. II Kgs. 4²³ indicates that it was also made the occasion for visits to the prophets. Am. 8⁵, Is. 1¹⁴ and Hos. 2¹¹ classify it with the sabbath and suggest that it was an occasion of merrymaking and cessation from labor. Its omission in the pre-exilic laws is probably because the lawgivers were unwilling to countenance its rites and associations. Throughout all the pre-exilic laws the divinely inspired prophetic endeavor to eliminate the older heathen customs and ideas associated with the ancient festivals and to introduce nobler usages and to give them a more ethical and spiritual content is prominently in evidence.

§ 210 It is very probable that originally the sabbath was connected with the four phases of the moon and that, like the feast of the new moon, its background is the primitive moon worship, suggested by many of Israel's earliest institutions. Whether the derivation of the Heb. word sabbath be traced to the Assyrian, *shabatu*, to *cease, be completed*, or the Arabic root meaning to *cut off, interrupt*, it suggests the changing phases of the moon. The division of the month into weeks in accordance with the four quarters of the moon was known in many parts of the ancient world. Thus the Hindus had such a division, with special sacrifices at the new and full moon, cf. Ps. 81³. In this connection it is interesting to note that when the dates of the Israelitish feasts were definitely fixed the days selected were the full moons. The moon itself also establishes the unit seven, for seven days after the first appearance of the new moon it is half full, and on the fourteenth it is full. The arbitrary fixing of the sabbath at the end of every six days, irrespective of the lunar month, appears to have resulted from the strong tendency already observed in the pre-exilic lawgivers to break away from all traditions connected with primitive moon worship.

The week among the Egyptians contained ten days, and there are no clear indications of the division of the month into weeks among the Babylonians. The forbidding of certain acts as unlucky on the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st and 28th of the intercalary month Elul perhaps suggests, but certainly does not prove the existence of an institution in Babylonia similar to the Heb. sabbath. Furthermore at the time when the Jews came into closest contact with the Babylonians, the priestly lawgivers emphasized sabbath observance most strongly as a distinctively Israelitish institution. More probably it was inherited from the agricultural Canaanites. Ultimately the origin of the sabbath is to be traced back to those nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews and the Canaanites, who paid chief homage to the moon, whose benign light guided them in their night journeys over the plains of Northern Arabia. Originally, like the new moon, it was doubtless observed as a festival. As a natural sequel came that remission of labor which accompanied every ancient feast, cf. Strabo, 3⁹. In the hands of Israel's prophetic lawgivers the element of rest was given the first place, and that of worship was made secondary, probably because of its heathen associations. Cf. for its later history, note § 217.

Primitive Codes

23 ¹²Six days shalt thou do thy work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and that the son of thy female slave, and the resident alien may be refreshed.

Deuteronomic Codes

Rest
for man
and
beast

Dt. 5 ¹²Observe the sabbath day, to keep it holy, as Jehovah thy God commanded thee. ¹³Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, ¹⁴but the seventh day is a sabbath to Jehovah thy God; in it thou shalt do no work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy male or female slave, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor the alien who resideth within thy city, that thy male and female slave may rest as well as thou. ¹⁵Thou shalt also remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and Jehovah thy God brought thee out from there by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath.

§ 211. The Passover, Ex. 34^{25b}, 23^{18b}, 12²¹⁻²³, 25-27^a, Dt. 16¹, 2, 4b-7

Primitive Codes

Dis-
posal of
the pas-
chal
lamb

Ex. 34 ^{25b}The sacrifice of the feast of the passover shall not be left until the morning.

23 ^{18b}The fat of my feasts shall not remain all night until the morning.

Trad-
itional
origin
of pass-
over

12 ²¹Then Moses summoned all the elders of Israel and said to them, Draw out and take lambs from the herds for your families and kill the passover.^a ²²And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the basin, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with

§ 211 As in the case of the modern Christmas festival, the passover in its ultimate form represents the fusion of several distinct and fundamentally different elements. At its basis probably lies the very ancient and widespread Semitic custom of sprinkling the poles of the tent with the blood of a sheep on special occasions in order to protect the occupants from pestilence and calamity. In time perhaps this became an established institution, and, possibly by the nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews, was associated with the annual spring festival at the beginning of summer. This spring festival was the occasion when all the members of the clan came together to re-establish the bond with the tribal god. It was characterized by the slaughter of a lamb amidst feasting and rejoicing, cf. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 110, 111. Ex. 10⁹ implies that it was already a fixed institution among the Hebrews in Egypt. The command in Dt. to celebrate it in the evening and not leave any flesh until the morning also suggests that it was originally a lunar feast, coming from a period when the ancestors of the Hebrews were moon worshippers.

When the Hebrews entered Canaan they found among the Canaanites the corresponding agricultural spring festival. In adopting the native civilization and rites, it was natural that they should combine the two. For the Canaanite feast cf. § 212. Possibly following the example of the Canaanites, the Hebrews added to the passover feast the custom of bringing to the sanctuaries the first-born of their herd. In time the original content of the feast was forgotten and Israel's religious teachers improved the opportunity to give to the Semitic spring festival, with its blended nomadic and agricultural elements, a truly national and religious meaning by associating it with the great deliverance from Egypt. This nobler interpretation is first clearly formulated in the Deuteronomic codes. In connecting it thus with a definite event in Israel's history, the prophetic lawgivers concretely emphasized the dominant note of thanksgiving which appears to have characterized the feast from its earliest beginnings. For the later modifications, cf. § 218.

^a Ex. 12²¹⁻²⁷ The account of the deliverance from Egypt in Ex. 12²¹⁻²³, with the exception of a few obvious editorial additions, appears to come from the early Judean prophetic narratives, cf. Vol. I, note § 71. Vss. 25-27^a, which trace the origin of the passover to the deliverance from Egypt, have the striking literary characteristics and ideas of the Deuteronomic school of writers, cf. it with Ex. 13³ and Dt. 6¹⁰, 16⁴, 4a-7.

Primitive Codes

the blood that is in the basin; but none of you shall go out of the door of his house until morning. ²³For Jehovah will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel and on the two side posts, Jehovah will pass over the door and will not suffer the Destroyer to come into your houses to smite you.

Deuteronomic Codes

Ex. 12 ²⁵When ye come to the land which Jehovah will give you, as he hath promised, ye shall observe this service. ²⁶And when your children shall say to you, What mean ye by this service? ²⁷ye shall say, 'It is the passover sacrifice to Jehovah who passed over the homes of the Israelites in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians and delivered our houses.'

Dt. 16 ¹Observe the month Abib,^b and keep^c the passover to Jehovah thy God; for in the month Abib Jehovah thy God brought thee forth from Egypt by night.^d ²And thou shalt sacrifice the passover to Jehovah thy God, both sheep and oxen, at the place where Jehovah shall choose to have his name dwell.^e

^{4b}None of the flesh which thou sacrificest the first day at evening shall remain throughout the night until the morning. ⁵Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy cities, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee; ⁶but at the place where Jehovah thy God shall choose to have his name dwell, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover in the evening as the sun goeth down, at the fixed time^f when thou camest forth from Egypt. ⁷And thou shalt cook^g and eat it in the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose; then thou shalt return home^h in the morning.

§ 212. Feast of Unleavened Bread, Ex. 34^{17, 18} [23^{14, 15, 17}], 13³⁻¹⁰, Dt. 16^{3, 4a, 8}

Primitive Codes

Ex. 34 ¹⁷Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lordⁱ Jehovah. ¹⁸The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven

^b Dt. 16¹ The month Abib means the month of *fresh* or *young ears*. It is the ancient Heb. name for the month which corresponds to the Nisan (March-April), when the grain in Palestine was just beginning to put forth the green heads.

^c Dt. 16¹ Lit., *make*.

^d Dt. 16¹ Cf. Ex. 12³¹.

^e Dt. 16² For the prohibition against eating leavened bread, cf. the next section.

^f Dt. 16⁶ *I. e.*, the same time in the day.

^g Dt. 16⁷ Lit., *boil*. In Ex. 12⁹ the priestly writers prohibit boiling the paschal lamb in water.

^h Dt. 16⁷ Lit., *turn to go to thy tents*.

§ 212 The command to appear three times before Jehovah implies that, if the feast of unleavened bread was known to the earliest Heb. lawgivers, it had already been brought into close conjunction with the passover, as it is in the later Deuteronomic and priestly codes. Such a fusion was in time natural, for both apparently represent the primitive Semitic spring festival, the one, as it was observed by the agricultural Canaanites, and the other by the nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews. Having fused the two feasts, the Deuteronomic lawgivers naturally connect both with the deliverance from Egypt and call the unleavened bread the bread of affliction. Among the earlier agricultural inhabitants of Canaan it was evidently the first of the three great harvest festivals—the time when the sickle was put to the standing grain and the people brought to the Deity the first sheaf of grain, cf. Lev. 23⁹; possibly also cakes of unleavened bread and a sacrificial offering. It would appear that during this busy first week of harvest the people had no time or desire to await the slow working of the leaven, but gladly ate the bread made quickly from the unleavened dough. Cf. for other parallels, Gen. 18⁶ 19⁶ and Josh. 5¹¹. Naturally in turn this custom grew into a fixed institution.

Ex. 34¹⁸] THE PRE-EXILIC SACRED CALENDAR

Primitive Codes

days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib; for in the month Abib thou camest forth from Egypt.

Deuteronomic Codes

Ex. 13 ³And Moses said to the people,ⁱ Remember this day, in which ye came forth from Egypt out of the house of bondage; for by a strong hand^j Jehovah brought you out from that place; therefore shall no leavened bread be eaten. ⁴This day ye go forth in the month Abib. ⁵And when Jehovah shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which he promised by oath to thy fathers to give thee, a land abounding in milk and honey, thou shalt keep this service in this month. ⁶Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day shall be the feast to Jehovah.

⁷Unleavened bread shall be eaten throughout the seven days; there shall no leaven be seen with thee, nor shall leaven be seen with thee in all thy territory. ⁸And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, It is because of what Jehovah did for me when I came forth out of Egypt. ⁹And it shall serve as a sign to thee upon thy hand, and as a memorial between thine eyes, that the law of Jehovah may be in thy mouth; for with a strong hand Jehovah brought thee out of Egypt. ¹⁰Thou shalt, therefore, keep this ordinance at a set time from year to year.

Dt. 16 ³Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with the passover; seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of affliction, for thou camest forth from the land of Egypt in trepidation, that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt^k all the days of thy life. ^{4a}And for seven days no leaven shall be seen with thee in all thy territory. ⁸Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread; and on the seventh day shall be an assembly to Jehovah thy God; in which thou shalt do no work.

§ 213. Feast of Weeks or Harvest, Ex. 34^{22a}, 23^{16a}, Dt. 16⁹⁻¹¹

Primitive Codes

Ex. 34 ^{22a}Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, even of the firstfruits of wheat harvest.

Originally the date of this harvest festival was fixed simply by the ripening grain. Hence it differed from year to year in different parts of the land. When at length it was closely combined with the passover feast and was celebrated not at the local shrines but at Jerusalem, a definite date became necessary; this is fixed in the exilic and post-exilic codes, cf. § 218.

ⁱ Ex. 13³ The basis of the law in Ex. 13³⁻¹⁰ was probably found in the early Judean prophetic narratives. Linguistic evidence and the implications elsewhere in the narrative suggest that this originally read, ^{3a}And Moses said to the people, ⁴This day ye go forth in the month Abib. ⁶Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day shall be a feast to Jehovah. In the present text, however, the person has been changed to, thou, possibly under the influence of Ex. 34¹⁸.

^j Ex. 13³ Lit., strength of hand.

^k Dt. 16³ Cf. Ex. 12³⁴, 39.

§ 213 The feast of weeks or harvest marked the end of the grain harvest. In the primitive codes the exact date is not fixed; in the Deuteronomic the date is still determined by the ripening of the grain, but that it might be observed at the same time it is to be held seven weeks after the feast of unleavened bread. From Ex. 23^{16a} it may be inferred that its oldest name

Primitive Codes

23^{16a}Thou shalt observe the feast of harvest [the feast of] the firstfruits of thy labors, which thou hast sown in the field.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 16 ⁹Seven weeks shalt thou number to thee; from the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing grain shalt thou begin to number the seven weeks. ¹⁰And thou shalt keep the feast of weeks to Jehovah thy God according to the measure of the voluntary offering which thy hand shall present in proportion as Jehovah thy God blesseth thee. ¹¹Thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy male and female slaves, and the Levite, who dwelleth in thy city, and the resident alien, the fatherless and the widow, who live with thee, shall rejoice before Jehovah in the place where Jehovah thy God shall choose to have his name dwell.

Seven weeks after beginning of harvest

§ 214. Feast of Ingathering or Tabernacles, Ex. 34^{22b}, 23^{16b}, Dt. 16¹³⁻¹⁷

Primitive Codes

Ex. 34 ^{22b}Thou shalt observe the feast of ingathering at the end of the year.

Harvest home

Ex. 23 ^{16b}Thou shalt observe the feast of ingathering at the end of the year, when thou gatherest in the fruit of thy labors from the field.

Deuteronomic Codes

Dt. 16 ¹³Thou shalt keep the feast of tabernacles seven days, after thou hast gathered in the products of thy threshing-floor and thy winepress. ¹⁴And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, together with thy son and thy daughter, thy male and female slaves, the Levite, the resident alien, the fatherless, and the widow, who are within thy city. ¹⁵Seven days shalt thou keep a feast to Jehovah thy God in the place which Jehovah shall choose; because Jehovah thy God will bless thee in all thine increase and in all the work of thy hands, and thou shalt be altogether joyful. ¹⁶Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before Jehovah thy God in the place which he shall choose: at the feast of unleavened bread, and at the feast of weeks, and at the feast of tabernacles; and they shall not appear before Jehovah empty-handed; ¹⁷every man shall give as he is able according to the individual gift with which Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee.

A week of glad rejoicing at the temple

was the *feast of harvest*. Originally it was doubtless celebrated at the local sanctuaries and with great hilarity, cf. Hos. 9^{1, 2, 5}. Dt. transfers it to the temple at Jerusalem, but still preserves its joyful character. For the post-exilic laws, cf. § 219.

§ 214. In the pre-exilic codes the feast of ingathering is distinctly an agricultural feast. In its oldest O.T. form it was probably inherited from the Canaanites, but its origin may be traced back to the nomadic autumn festival when the Arabs resorted, as they still do, to the oases to gather their supply of dates. Its designation in the primitive codes well describes it: it was the feast of ingathering at the close of the summer. In spirit it corresponds closely to the American Thanksgiving. Its date is left indeterminate in the pre-exilic codes. At first it was apparently celebrated for only a day or two and at the local sanctuaries, cf. Judg. 21¹⁹, I Sam. 13; but the Deuteronomic lawgivers extended it to a week and transferred it to the temple at Jerusalem. They also designate it as the *feast of booths*, or following the established terminology, of *tabernacles*. Of the three great feasts it was the most important, coming as it did at the close of the year's work. Thus Solomon chose it for the dedication of his temple, I Kgs. 8^{2, 66}. In I Kgs. 12³² it is stated that Jeroboam arranged that this feast should be observed in Northern Israel in the eighth instead of the seventh month, as was the custom in Judah. Cf. for its later development, § 222.

Ex. 23^{10]} THE PRE-EXILIC SACRED CALENDAR

§ 215. *Sabbatical Year*, Ex. 23¹⁰, 11, Dt. 15¹⁻³, 31¹⁰⁻¹²

Primitive Codes

Sharing
of nat-
ural
prod-
ucts

Ex. 23 ¹⁰Six years thou shalt sow thy land, and gather in its increase; ¹¹but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie fallow; that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the wild beasts shall eat. In like manner do with thy vineyard and thy oliveyard.

Deuteronomic Codes

Tempo-
rary re-
mission
of
debts

Dt. 15 ¹At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release. ²And this is the nature of the release: every creditor shall remit that which he hath lent to his neighbor; he shall not exact of his neighbor or fellow countryman, because Jehovah's release hath been proclaimed. ³Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it; but whatever of thine is with thy fellow countryman let thy hand release.

Public
reading
of the
law

31 ¹⁰Moses gave the Israelites this command: At the end of every seven years in the year fixed for the release, at the feast of tabernacles, ¹¹when all Israel cometh to see the face of Jehovah thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel. ¹²Assemble the people, the men and the women and the children, as well as the aliens who reside within thy city, that they may hear, and learn, and fear Jehovah your God, and faithfully follow all the words of this law.¹

J

THE SACRED CALENDAR OF THE POST-EXILIC HIERARCHY

§ 216. *The New Moon*, Nu. 28¹¹⁻¹⁵

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Regu-
lar of-
ferings

Nu. 28 ¹¹On the first days of your months ye shall offer a burnt-offering to Jehovah: two young bullocks and one ram, and seven yearling lambs

§ 215 Cf. note § 112.

¹ Dt. 31¹² The law referred to is the body of the book of Dt.

The Sacred Calendar of the Post-Exilic Hierarchy.—The centralization of all worship in Jerusalem and the Babylonian exile fundamentally transformed the character of Israel's religious festivals. Under the dark shadow of the exile they lost their old joyous nature. Guilt- and sin-offerings took the place of the old family feasts and the entire energy of the community was devoted to regaining Jehovah's favor through an elaborate ritual. The great festivals were also detached from their original close connection with the agricultural occupations of the people; exact dates were now fixed for each, and nearly the same ritual was observed at all of them. Their older origin and meaning was also forgotten and they were associated in the later traditions more and more with great national events in Israel's history.

Not only was the ritual made much more elaborate, but new religious feasts were added, cf. Appendix X. This was but the earlier manifestation of a tendency which went on after the canon of the law was closed. During the Maccabean period five more festivals were added, including the feast of Purim, the feast of Dedication, and the feast of Nicanor. Thus the life of Judaism centred more and more about the temple, and the nation lived in the memory of the past and devoted its energies to the performance of the demands of its elaborate ritual.

§ 216 As has already been noted, cf. introd. note on the *Primitive Sacred Calendar*, § 210, the feast of the new moon was one of the oldest institutions among the Hebrews. Originally it appears to have been a family feast, celebrated with a clan sacrifice. If the pre-exile law-givers deliberately refused to recognize it, because it contained so many heathen customs, their effort to set it aside failed. Ezek. provides for worship on the new moon, as well as the sabbath, 46³. With the general centralization of worship which resulted from the application

Supplemental Priestly Codes

without blemish, ¹²and three-tenths of an ephah of fine meal as a cereal-offering, mingled with oil, for each bullock, and two-tenths of an ephah of fine meal as a cereal-offering, mingled with oil, for one ram, ¹³and a tenth of an ephah of fine meal mingled with oil as a cereal-offering for each lamb, as a burnt-offering of a pleasing odor, an offering made by fire to Jehovah. ¹⁴And their libations shall be half a hin of wine for a bullock, and a third of a hin for the ram, and a fourth of a hin for the lamb; this is the burnt-offering of the new moon to be offered at every new moon throughout the year. ¹⁵Moreover one male goat shall be offered as an offering to Jehovah, with the regular burnt-offering.

§ 217. **The Sabbath**, Lev. 19^{3b} [30, 26²], Ex. 31¹²⁻¹⁴, 35¹⁻³, Gen. 2², ³, Ex. 31¹⁵⁻¹⁷, Lev. 23³, Ex. 16²²⁻²⁶, Nu. 15³²⁻³⁶, 28⁹, ¹⁰

Holiness Code

Lev. 19 ^{3b}Ye shall keep my sabbaths: I am Jehovah your God.

Ex. 31 ¹²Jehovah spoke thus to Moses,^a ¹³Say thou to the Israelites, 'Ye shall surely keep my sabbaths; for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations that ye may know that I am Jehovah who am sanctifying you. ¹⁴Ye shall keep the sabbath, therefore, for it is holy to you; everyone who profaneth it shall surely be put to death; for whoever doeth any work in it, that one shall be cut off from among his people.'

To be kept holy

Priestly Codes

Ex. 35 ¹Moses assembled all the congregation of the Israelites and said to them, These are the things which Jehovah hath commanded you

To do work in it a capital offence

of the Deuteronomic law, it ceased in time to be a family feast. Thus transferred to the temple, it lost its older character and became simply a ceremonial function, observed, as the above law directs by the offering of stated sacrifices. That it still occupied a place in the hearts of the people is shown by the references in Is. 66²³ and Judith 8⁹.

§ 217 As has already been suggested in § 210, the sabbath in the most primitive period was apparently, like the new moon, a religious festival in honor of the Deity. The prophetic lawgivers, however, like the great Prophet of Nazareth, for humane reasons gave the element of rest the central position. As in the case of other institutions, the late priestly lawgivers revived the primitive ritualistic conception of the sabbath and emphasized the necessity of abstaining from labor, not for man's sake but as an element of worship. The later priests did not cease until in their traditional precedents, connected as usual with Moses, they had made labor on that day a capital offence. In this group of laws we see the first full expression of that tendency to make the sabbath a central and saving institution, which later made Judaism absurd and filled the Talmud with a vast body of minute and impossible laws.

Again the conditions of the exile explain why the sabbath, heretofore only one of several national festivals, assumed a central place in the post-exilic calendar. All the other religious feasts had been by the law of Dt. bound closely to the now destroyed temple and sacred city; hence they necessarily, for a time at least, fell into abeyance. The sabbath alone could be observed by every member of the scattered race, wherever the exile had cast him. The sabbath, therefore, met the deep need, which the Jews in this and succeeding periods felt for a definite time for worship and communion with Jehovah. It satisfied their religious needs, it kept alive their faith, and its observance soon became the distinctive mark of a loyal member of the race. For many it stood as the symbol of the ritual as a whole. Little wonder, therefore, that it bulks as largely as it does in the literature and thought of earlier Judaism.

Deeper still, underlying the institution and giving it eternal validity, is the fact that in its provision for rest and the recreation of body, mind and soul, it meets a fundamental and universal human need. It was the recognition of this absolute need that led Jesus to sweep away with one stroke all the traditions and misinterpretations, with which men had covered it, and thereby to reveal it in its true character as one of God's supreme gifts to his toiling children.

^a Ex. 31¹²⁻¹⁴ A very late priestly editor has evidently here made extracts from the Holiness Code the basis for a more expanded sabbath law. The later terms and phrases are readily recognized.

Priestly Codes

to do. ²Six days shall work be done; but on the seventh ye shall have a day consecrated to Jehovah, a sabbath of complete rest;^b whoever doeth any work in it shall be put to death. ³Ye shall kindle no fire in any of your dwellings on the sabbath.

The
divine
exam-
ple

Gen. 2 ²When on the seventh day God had finished his work which he had done, and rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had done, ³God also blessed the seventh day and hallowed it; because in it he rested from all his work which he, God, had done in the process of creation.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

A holy
sign

Ex. 31 ¹⁵Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh is a sabbath of complete rest, holy to Jehovah; whoever doeth any work on the sabbath shall surely be put to death. ¹⁶Therefore the Israelites shall keep the sabbath, by observing the sabbath throughout their generations as a perpetual covenant. ¹⁷It is a sign between me and the Israelites forever; for in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested and was refreshed.

Day of
solemn
rest

Lev. 23 ³Six days may work be done, but on the seventh day is a sabbath of complete rest, a holy religious assembly;^c ye shall do no work at all; it is a sabbath to Jehovah in all your dwellings.

Tradi-
tional
preced-
ents:
food in
the wil-
derness

Ex. 16 ²²On the sixth day [the Israelites in the wilderness] gathered twice as much bread—two omers for each one—and all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses. ²³And he said to them, This is because Jehovah hath commanded, 'To-morrow shall be a day of rest, a sabbath consecrated to Jehovah. Bake that which you wish to bake and boil that which you wish to boil; but all that is left over lay up in order to keep it until to-morrow.' ²⁴So they laid it up until the next day, as Moses commanded, but it did not become foul, nor were there any worms in it. ²⁵And Moses said, Eat that to-day, for to-day is a sabbath to Jehovah; to-day you will not find it in the field. ²⁶Six days shall you gather it, but on the seventh day, the sabbath, there will be none.

Public
execu-
tion of
an of-
fender

Nu. 15 ³²While the Israelites were in the wilderness they found a man gathering sticks on the sabbath. ³³Then those who found him gathering sticks brought him to Moses and Aaron and to all the congregation.

³⁴And they put him in confinement, because he had not clearly explained what should be done to him. ³⁵Jehovah said to Moses, The man shall surely be put to death, and the congregation shall stone him outside the camp. ³⁶So all the congregation led him outside the camp and stoned him to death, as Jehovah commanded Moses.

Regu-
lar sab-
bath
offering

28 ⁹Ye shall offer on the sabbath two yearling male lambs without blemish, and two-tenths of an ephah of fine meal as a cereal-offering, mingled with oil, and its libation; ¹⁰this is the burnt-offering of every sabbath, besides the regular burnt-offering and its libation.

^b Ex. 35² Heb., a holy day, a sabbath of complete rest to Jehovah; but cf. 16²³ and 31¹⁵.
^c Lev. 23³ Lit., a holy calling together.

§ 218. Feast of the Passover and Unleavened Bread, Lev. 23¹⁰⁻¹⁸, 2-8,Ex. 12¹⁻¹³, 43, 46-50, 14-20, Nu. 28¹⁶⁻²⁵, 9¹⁻¹⁴*Holiness Code*

Lev. 23 ¹⁰Jehovah said to Moses, Speak to the Israelites and say to them, ^{Date and method of observance} 'When ye come into the land which I am about to give to you, and reap its harvest, ye shall bring a sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest to the priest, ¹¹and he shall wave the sheaf before Jehovah that ye may be accepted; on the day following the sabbath the priest shall wave it. ¹²And on the day when ye shall wave the sheaf, ye shall offer a male lamb without blemish a year old as a burnt-offering to Jehovah. ¹³And its cereal-offering shall be two-tenths of an ephah of fine meal mixed with oil, ¹⁴an offering made by fire to Jehovah as a pleasant odor; and its libation shall be of wine, the fourth of a hin. ¹⁴And ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched grain, nor fresh ears, until that day, until ye have brought the offering of your God; it is a statute forever throughout your generations in all your dwellings.'

Priestly Codes

Lev. 23 ⁴These are the appointed seasons of Jehovah, the religious ^{Exact date} assemblies in the sanctuary, which ye shall proclaim in their appointed season. ⁵On the fourteenth day of the first month towards evening^e is Jehovah's passover. ⁶And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread to Jehovah; seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread. ⁷On the first day ye shall have a religious assembly at the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work. ⁸But ye shall bring an offering made by fire to Jehovah for seven days; in the seventh day is a holy religious assembly at the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work.

Ex. 12 ¹Then Jehovah spoke to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, ^{Manner of celebrating the pass-over} saying, ²This month shall be to you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you. ³Speak to all the congregation of Israel saying, 'In the tenth day of this month they shall each provide for themselves a lamb, one for each individual family; ⁴and if the family be too small for a lamb, then shall he and his next door neighbor take one together, according to the number of persons; according to each one's ability to eat shall ye make your reckoning for the lamb. ⁵Your lamb must be without blemish, a male, a year old; ye shall take it from the sheep or from the goats. ⁶And ye shall keep it until the fourteenth day of the same month; then the whole

§ 218 The Holiness Code makes no reference to the passover or feast of unleavened bread, unless Lev. 23⁴⁻⁸ is an editorial epitome of the older code. The language and representation indicate that these vss. in their present form are from one of the authors of the priestly codes, cf. Ex. 12¹⁴⁻²⁰. In the priestly codes the fusion of the passover and the feast of unleavened bread is complete and the date is definitely fixed, as it was in the days of Ezek., on the fourteenth day of the first month of the Bab. calendar, i. e., Nisan (March-April). The priestly lawgivers abandon the attempt of the Deuteronomic reformers to transfer the feast to Jerusalem and revert to the older custom of allowing each family to celebrate it at home. In keeping with the tendency of the day, they provide, however, that an elaborate sacrificial offering shall be offered at the temple each day of the feast.

^d Lev. 23^{13, 14} The original law has evidently been expanded at this point by a later priestly editor who was interested in the ritual

^e Lev. 23⁵ Lit., *between the two evenings*, a characteristic expression of the late priestly writers. It means either between the time when the sun begins to sink in the west and sunset or more probably between sunset and dark.

Priestly Codes

assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it toward evening. ⁷And they shall take of the blood and put it on the two door-posts and on the lintel of the houses in which they shall eat it. ⁸And in the same night they shall eat the flesh roasted with fire; with unleavened bread and bitter herbs shall they eat it. ⁹Be sure to eat it neither raw nor boiled in water, but roasted with fire, retaining its head with its legs and inwards. ¹⁰And ye shall keep nothing of it until morning; but that which remaineth of it until morning ye shall burn with fire. ¹¹And thus shall ye eat it, with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat it in trembling haste, it is Jehovah's passover. ¹²For I will go through the land of Egypt on that night, and smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgments: I am Jehovah. ¹³And the blood shall be for your sakes as a token upon the houses where ye are; for where I see the blood I will pass over you, and no destructive blow shall come upon you, when I smite the land of Egypt.'

Those
eligible

⁴³Jehovah said to Moses and Aaron,^f This is the ordinance of the passover: No foreigner shall eat of it, ⁴⁴but every man's slave that hath been bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, shall eat of it. ⁴⁵A resident alien and a hired servant shall not eat of it. ⁴⁶In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry any of the flesh out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone of it. ⁴⁷All the congregation shall keep it. ⁴⁸And when an alien shall reside with thee and wish to keep the passover to Jehovah, let all the male members of his family be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as a native born; but no uncircumcised person shall eat of it. ⁴⁹One and the same law shall apply to the native born and the foreigner residing among you. ⁵⁰Thus did all the Israelites; as Jehovah commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Re-
moval
of all
leaven

Ex. 12 ¹⁴The [passover] day shall be a reminder to you and ye shall keep it as a feast to Jehovah throughout your generations;^g by an ordinance shall ye forever keep it as a feast. ¹⁵Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; immediately on the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses, for whoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day shall be cut off from Israel. ¹⁶And on the first day ye shall hold a religious assembly at the sanctuary, and on the seventh day a holy religious assembly at the sanctuary; no kind of work shall be done in them, except that which every man must do to eat, that only may be done by you. ¹⁷And ye shall observe the regulation regarding unleavened bread, for on this very day I brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt; therefore ye shall observe this day throughout your generations as an ordinance forever. ¹⁸On the four-

^f Ex. 12⁴³⁻⁵⁰ Since the point of view assumed in this section is the settled life in Canaan, cf. ⁵⁰, it is possible that these vss., which have no real connection with their context, are from a later priestly editor.

^g Ex. 12¹⁴⁻²⁰ In these vss. the historic event, recorded in 12¹⁻¹³, is made the basis of a permanent institution. It apparently comes from one of the later priestly editors of Ex.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

teenth day of the first month in the evening ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the evening of the twenty-first day of the month. ¹⁹Seven days shall no leaven be found in your houses; for whoever eateth that which is leavened shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a resident alien or a native born. ²⁰Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your dwellings ye shall eat unleavened bread.

Nu. 28 ¹⁶On the fourteenth day of the first month is Jehovah's pass-over.^h ¹⁷And on the fifteenth day of this month shall be a feast; seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten. ¹⁸In the first day shall be a religious assembly at the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work, ¹⁹but ye shall offer an offering made by fire, a burnt-offering to Jehovah: two young bullocks, one ram, and seven male lambs a year old; they shall be without blemish; ²⁰and their cereal-offering, fine meal mingled with oil; three-tenths of an ephah shall ye offer for a bullock, and two-tenths for the ram; ²¹a tenth thou shalt offer for each of the seven lambs; ²²and one male goat as a sin-offering,ⁱ to make atonement for you. ²³Ye shall offer these besides the burnt-offering of the morning, which is a regular burnt-offering. ²⁴This same offering shall ye offer daily, for seven days, as food consumed by fire, an odor pleasing to Jehovah; it shall be offered in addition to the regular burnt-offering and its libation. ²⁵And on the seventh day ye shall have a religious assembly at the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work.

9 ¹Jehovah gave this command to Moses in the Wilderness of Sinai,^j in the first month of the second year after they had come out of the land of Egypt: ²Let the Israelites keep the passover in its appointed season. ³On the fourteenth day of this month, toward evening, ye shall keep it in its appointed season; in accord with all the statutes and ordinances regarding it shall ye keep it. ⁴And Moses commanded the Israelites that they should keep the passover. ⁵And they kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the first month, towards evening, in the Wilderness of Sinai; according to all that Jehovah commanded Moses so did the Israelites.

⁶But there were certain men, who were unclean through contact with the dead body of a man,^k so that they could not keep the passover on that day. And they came before Moses and Aaron on that day; ⁷and these men said to him, We are unclean through contact with the dead body of a man;^l why should we be excluded from offering the gift for Jehovah at its appointed season along with the Israelites? ⁸And Moses said to them, Wait, that I may hear what Jehovah will command concerning you.

⁹Then Jehovah spoke thus to Moses, ¹⁰Say to the Israelites, 'If any of you or of your descendants shall be unclean through contact with a dead body, or be on a distant journey, he shall keep the passover to Jehovah. ¹¹On the

^h Nu. 28^{16ff} These vss. also appear to come from the later priestly editors, who were interested simply in the ritual.

ⁱ Nu. 28²² This offering was the same as at the new moon, cf. § 216.

^j Nu. 91³ This law is evidently a later priestly insertion in its present context with which it has no real connection. It provides a supplementary passover for those prevented from observing the regular passover at the appointed time.

^k Nu. 9⁶ Cf. § 181.

^l Nu. 9⁷ Lit., with a man.

Specific
offer-
ings

Tradi-
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Pro-
vision
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such of
a sec-
ond
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over

Supplemental Priestly Codes

fourteenth day of the second month, towards evening, they shall keep it; they shall eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; ¹²they shall leave none of it until the morning nor break a bone of it; according to all the statute of the passover shall they keep it. ¹³But the man who is ceremonially clean and is not on a journey and neglecteth to keep the passover, that one shall be cut off from his people; because he offered not the gift to Jehovah in its appointed season, that man shall bear his guilt. ¹⁴And if a foreigner reside among you and wish to keep the passover to Jehovah according to the statute of the passover and the ordinance regarding it, so shall he do; ye shall have one statute, both for the resident alien and the native born.'

§ 219. Feast of Weeks or Firstfruits, Lev. 23¹⁶⁻²¹, Nu. 28²⁶⁻³¹

Holiness Code

Date
and
ritual

Lev. 23 ¹⁵Ye shall count from the day following the sabbath, from the day that ye bring the sheaf of the wave-offering [at the beginning of the feast of unleavened bread], seven full weeks; ¹⁶until the day following the seventh sabbath shall ye count fifty days; and ye shall present a new cereal-offering to Jehovah. ¹⁷Ye shall bring out of your dwellings two wave-loaves of two-tenths of an ephah; they shall be of fine meal, and they shall be baked with leaven, as firstfruits for Jehovah. ¹⁸Ye shall present with the bread seven yearling lambs without blemish, and one young bullock, and two rams; they shall be a burnt-offering to Jehovah, with the cereal-offerings and libations, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah. ¹⁹Ye shall also offer one male goat as a sin-offering, and two male lambs a year old as a sacrifice of peace-offerings. ²⁰And the priest shall wave them with the bread of the firstfruits as a wave-offering before Jehovah, with the two lambs; they shall be a holy gift for Jehovah and shall belong to the priest. ²¹And he shall make proclamation on that same day,^m and there shall be a religious assembly for you in the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work; it is a statute forever in all your dwellings throughout your generations.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Addi-
tional
direc-
tions
and of-
ferings

Nu. 28 ²⁶On the day of the firstfruits, when ye offer a new cereal-offering to Jehovah in your feast of weeks, ye shall hold a religious assembly at the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work, ²⁷but ye shall offer a burnt-offering as an odor pleasing to Jehovah: two young bullocks, one ram, seven male lambs a year old, ²⁸and their cereal-offering, fine meal mingled with oil, three-tenths of an ephah for each bullock, two-tenths for the one ram, ²⁹a tenth for each of the seven lambs, ³⁰one male goat to make atonement for you. ³¹Besides the regular burnt-offering, and its cereal-offering, ye shall offer them—they shall be without blemish,—and their libations.

§ 219 The Holiness Code, like that of Dt. leaves the exact date of the feast indeterminate, simply fixing it on the fiftieth day (hence the N.T. designation, *Pentecost*) after the beginning of the feast of unleavened bread. The details of the sacrificial offering in ^{18b}, ^{19a} appear to have been added by a late priestly editor, cf. § 167 note ^a.

^m Lev. 23²¹ The characteristic formulas of the priestly lawgivers reappear in this vs.

§ 220. Feast of Trumpets, Lev. 23²³⁻²⁵, Nu. 29¹⁻⁶*Priestly Codes*

Lev. 23 ²³Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ²⁴Speak thus to the Israelites, 'On the first day of the seventh month ye shall have a complete rest, a memorial day celebrated by the blowing of trumpets, a religious assembly at the sanctuary. ²⁵Ye shall do no toilsome work, and ye shall present an offering made by fire to Jehovah.'

Date and method of observance

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Nu. 29 ¹On the first day of the seventh month ye shall hold a religious assembly at the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work; it shall be to you a day for blowing trumpets. ²And ye shall offer a burnt-offering as an odor pleasing to Jehovah: one young bullock, one ram, seven male lambs a year old without blemish, ³and their cereal-offering, fine meal mingled with oil, three-tenths of an ephah for the bullock, two-tenths for the ram, ⁴and one-tenth for each of the seven lambs, ⁵and one male goat as a sin-offering, to make atonement for you, ⁶in addition to the burnt-offering of the new moon, and its cereal-offering, and the regular burnt-offering, and its cereal-offering, and their libations in accordance with their ordinance, as a pleasant odor, an offering made by fire to Jehovah.

Specific offerings

§ 221. Day of Atonement, Lev. 16, 23²⁶⁻³², Nu. 29⁷⁻¹¹ [Ex. 30¹⁰]*Priestly Codes*

Lev. 16 ¹Jehovah spoke to Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron, when they drew near before Jehovah and died, ²and Jehovah said

High priest's preparations

§ 220 There are no traces of this feast in the pre-exilic literature. It falls, however, on the first day of the early Heb. year which began in Sept., cf. Ex. 23¹⁶, Lev. 25⁹, Ezek. 40¹, rather than in the spring. Most Semitic peoples celebrate the beginning of a new year with some religious festivities, so that the present laws may simply represent the revival of a very old institution. From the time of Alexander the Jews have celebrated this feast as the New Year's Day. The priestly lawgivers doubtless desired to emphasize the first day of the seventh Bab. month, doubling as they did at that time the regular offerings of the new moon, because of the important feasts which fell in that month.

§ 221 The day of atonement represents the culmination of the ritualistic tendencies of the late priestly schools. It is nowhere mentioned in the pre-exilic or Holiness codes. Ezek. did not know of it in its present form, but provides rather for two days of atonement, one on the first day of the first month, and on the first of the seventh month, 45¹⁸⁻²⁰. In the account of the great priestly reformation in Neh. 8, the tenth of the seventh month is passed over without any reference to it, but on the twenty-fourth a general feast and confession was held. The laws regarding the day of atonement, therefore, appear to be among the latest sections of the Pentateuch. Its background is the Bab. exile and its motive is its deep sense of guilt which that overwhelming national experience impressed on the minds of the Jews. But the Holy One must be served by a holy people. In the doctrines of the priestly schools holiness meant ceremonial purity. Therefore the ritual of the day of atonement was developed to remove from the nation and sanctuary all possible forms of defilement overlooked or not provided for by the other detailed ceremonial laws. It was natural that in the minds of later Jews it should become the most important day in the calendar. It was equivalent to a great national confession. In the deeply spiritual prayers of the later ritual and of Judaism to-day it is essentially a common confession of individual as well as national guilt.

Whether or not the institution is derived from the Bab. day of appeasement (*shabbatum*, cf. Lev. 23³⁴) cannot be definitely determined. The aim, to win the favor of the Deity by special offerings, is the same in both. Doubtless the Jewish priests in Babylonia were influenced, indirectly at least, by prominence of this kindred idea and institution among their neighbors and masters.

The goat, sent forth to Azazel, like the bird released in connection with the leprosy offering, § 207, reflects the very ancient and widespread belief that human ills or guilt could thus be

Priestly Codes

to Moses, Speak to thy brother Aaron, that he do not come at all times into the holy place within the curtain, before the covering which is on the ark, lest he die, for I appear in the cloud upon the covering. ³Thus shall Aaron come into the holy place: with a young bullock as a sin-offering, and a ram as a burnt-offering. ⁴He shall clothe himself in a linen coat, and he shall put on linen breeches, and shall be girded with a linen girdle, and shall have a linen turban wound about his head; they are holy garments; and he shall bathe his body in water before putting them on.

⁵And he shall take from the congregation of the Israelites, two male goats as a sin-offering, and one ram as a burnt-offering. ⁶And Aaron shall bring the bullock of the sin-offering, which is for himself, and shall make atonement for himself and for his house. ⁷And he shall take the two goats and set them before Jehovah at the entrance of the tent of meeting. ⁸And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats: one lot for Jehovah, and the other lot for Azazel. ⁹And Aaron shall bring the goat upon which the lot fell for Jehovah, and offer it as a sin-offering. ¹⁰But the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall he set alive before Jehovah, in order that Aaron may make atonement upon it, to send it away for Azazel into the wilderness.

¹¹Then Aaron shall bring the bullock of the sin-offering, which is for himself, and shall make atonement for himself and for his house; and he shall kill the bullock of the sin-offering which is for himself; ¹²and he shall fill his censer with coals of fire from the altar before Jehovah, and his hands with sweet incense beaten fine, and shall bring it within the curtain; ¹³and he shall put the incense on the fire before Jehovah, that the cloud of incense may encircle the covering over the testimony,^a that he die not; ¹⁴and he shall take some of the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger on the front of the covering which faces eastward; and also he shall sprinkle the blood with his finger seven times before the covering.

¹⁵Then he shall kill the goat of the sin-offering that is for the people, and bring its blood within the curtain, and do with its blood as he did with the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it upon the covering and in front of the covering; ¹⁶and he shall make atonement for the holy place, on account of the uncleannesses of the Israelites and on account of their transgressions, whatever they may be; so shall he also do for the tent of meeting, that abideth among them in the midst of their uncleannesses. ¹⁷And none shall be in the tent of meeting when he goeth in to make atonement for the holy place,

laid upon an animal which would bear them away to the relief of the individual. Azazel was evidently conceived of in popular Jewish thought as the chief of the evil spirits dwelling in the desert. In the book of Enoch he is the chief of the angelic beings who formed unions with the daughters of men and who, through their offspring, the giants, brought sin and bloodshed to mankind, Enoch 6^{1, 2}, 7¹⁻⁵, 9⁶, 8-11. Like Prometheus, he is represented as bound for his sins to the rough rocks in the wilderness. It was to this spot, now identified with *Bet-khudedum*, beside a steep rocky gorge that the goat was led on the day of atonement, cf. the Mishna tractat *Yoma*, 6. The passages in Lev. 16 relating to the goat for Azazel, 5, 7-10, 14-23, may be later additions to the priestly regulation; they are not referred to in the very late priestly sections in Lev. 23²⁰⁻³² and Nu. 29⁷⁻¹⁰. While it is clear that Lev. 16 is made up of several originally distinct elements, it is impossible to determine with certainty which are the older, and all may have been combined in the present form by the same priestly editor.

^a Lev. 16¹³ The priestly designation of the tables of the ten words.

Priestly Codes

until he come out. Thus he shall make atonement for himself and for his house and for all the assembly of Israel.

¹⁸Then he shall go out to the altar which stands before Jehovah^o and make atonement for it; and he shall take some of the blood of the bullock and of the blood of the goat, and put it on the horns of the altar all around. ¹⁹And he shall sprinkle some of the blood upon it with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and sanctify it from the uncleanness of the Israelites. Of the altar

²⁰When he hath made an end of atoning for the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar, the live goat shall be brought; ²¹and Aaron shall lay both of his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess over it all the iniquities of the Israelites and all their transgressions, whatever they may be; and he shall put them on the head of the goat, and shall send it away by the hand of a man who is in readiness into the wilderness; ²²and the goat shall bear upon itself all their iniquities into a solitary land; then he shall let the goat go into the wilderness. The scape goat

²³Then Aaron shall come into the tent of meeting and shall put off the linen garments, which he put on when he went into the holy place, and shall leave them there; ²⁴he shall bathe his body in water in a holy place, and put on his garments. Then he shall come out and offer his burnt-offering and the burnt-offering of the people, and make atonement for himself and the people. Burnt-offerings

²⁵And he shall consume the fat of the sin-offering in sweet smoke upon the altar. ²⁶And he who let go the goat for Azazel shall wash his clothes and bathe his body in water, and afterwards he may come into the camp. ²⁷And the bullock of the sin-offering and the goat of the sin-offering, whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy place, shall be carried outside the camp; and their skins, and their flesh, and their dung shall be burnt with fire. ²⁸And he who burneth them shall wash his clothes and bathe his body in water, and afterwards he may come into the camp. Additional details

²⁹And it shall be an everlasting statute for you: On the tenth day of the seventh month, ye shall afflict yourselves, and shall do no work at all, whether it be the native born or the alien who resideth among you; ³⁰for on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; ye shall be cleansed from all your sins before Jehovah. ³¹It is a sabbath of complete rest for you, and ye shall afflict yourselves; it is a statute forever. ³²And the priest who shall be anointed and installed as priest in his father's place shall make the atonement, and shall put on the holy linen garments; ³³and he shall make atonement for the holy sanctuary; and he shall make atonement for the tent of meeting and for the altar; and he shall make atonement for the priests and for all the people of the assembly. ³⁴And this shall be an everlasting statute for you, that atonement be made for the Israelites because of all their sins once each year. Résumé

And he did as Jehovah commanded Moses.

^o Lev. 16¹⁸ *I. e.*, the great altar before the sanctuary.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Day of
solemn
rest
and
confes-
sion

Lev. 23 ²⁶Jehovah spoke to Moses saying, ²⁷Verily on the tenth day of this seventh month is the day of atonement; it shall be a religious assembly at the sanctuary, and ye shall afflict yourselves; and ye shall present an offering made by fire to Jehovah. ²⁸And ye shall do no work at all on that same day; for it is a day of atonement, on which to make atonement for you before Jehovah your God. ²⁹For whoever doth not afflict himself on that same day shall be cut off from his people. ³⁰And whoever doeth any work at all on that same day, I will destroy from among his people. ³¹Ye shall do no work at all; it is a statute forever throughout your generations in all your dwellings. ³²It shall be to you a sabbath of complete rest, and ye shall afflict yourselves; in the ninth day of the month at evening, from evening to evening, shall ye keep your sabbath.

Spe-
cific of-
ferings

Nu. 29 ⁷On the tenth day of the seventh month ye shall hold a religious assembly at the sanctuary; and ye shall afflict yourselves; ye shall do no work at all, ⁸but ye shall offer a burnt-offering to Jehovah as a pleasing odor: one young bullock, one ram, seven male lambs a year old; they shall be without blemish; ⁹and their cereal-offering, fine meal mixed with oil, three-tenths of an ephah for the bullock, two-tenths for the one ram, ¹⁰a tenth for each of the seven lambs, ¹¹one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the sin-offering of atonement, and the regular burnt-offering, and its cereal-offering, and their libations.

§ 222. Feast of Tabernacles, Lev. 23³⁹⁻⁴⁴, 33-36, Nu. 29¹²⁻³⁸

Holiness Code

Method
of ob-
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ance

Lev. 23 ³⁹Verily on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered in the produce of the land, ye shall keep the feast of Jehovah for seven days; on the first day shall be a complete rest, and on the eighth day shall be a complete rest. ⁴⁰And ye shall take for yourselves on the first day the fruit of noble trees, branches of palm-trees, and boughs of thick trees, and poplars of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before Jehovah your God seven days. ⁴¹And ye shall observe it as a feast to Jehovah seven days in the year; it is a statute forever throughout your generations; ye shall observe it in the seventh month. ⁴²Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are native born in Israel shall dwell in booths, ⁴³that your descendants may know that I made the Israelites dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am Jehovah your God. ⁴⁴Thus Moses declared to the Israelites the set feasts of Jehovah.

§ 222 Ezek. was the first to fix the feast of tabernacles on the fifteenth of the seventh month, 45²⁶, although the reference in I Kgs. 12³², if it is pre-exilic, would indicate that this date was already established in Judah. In the original version of the Holiness Code there appears to have been no definite date given; the notes in Lev. 23³⁹, ⁴¹ are probably from a late priestly scribe. In the priestly codes the earlier references to agriculture have entirely disappeared, and the later lawgivers also add an eighth day to the feast.

Priestly Codes

Lev. 23 ³³And Jehovah gave this command to Moses: ³⁴Speak thus to the Israelites, 'On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is the feast of tabernacles for seven days to Jehovah. ³⁵On the first day shall be a religious assembly in the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work. ³⁶Seven days ye shall present an offering made by fire to Jehovah; on the eighth day ye shall hold a religious assembly in the sanctuary; and ye shall present an offering made by fire to Jehovah; it is a solemn assembly; ye shall do no toilsome work.'

Supplementary Priestly Codes

Nu. 29. ¹²On the fifteenth day of the seventh month ye shall hold a religious assembly at the sanctuary; ye shall do no toilsome work, and ye shall keep a feast to Jehovah for seven days; ¹³and ye shall present a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah: thirteen young bullocks, two rams, fourteen male lambs a year old; they shall be without blemish; ¹⁴and their cereal-offering, fine meal mixed with oil, three-tenths of an ephah for each of the thirteen bullocks, two-tenths for each of the two rams, ¹⁵and a tenth for each of the fourteen lambs, ¹⁶and one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the regular burnt-offering, its cereal-offering, and its libation.

¹⁷And on the second day ye shall offer twelve young bullocks, two rams, fourteen male lambs a year old without blemish, ¹⁸and their cereal-offering and their libations for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, in accordance with the ordinance, ¹⁹and one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the regular burnt-offering, and its cereal-offering, and their libations.

²⁰And on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, fourteen male lambs a year old without blemish, ²¹and their cereal-offering and their libations for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, in accordance with the ordinance, ²²and one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the regular burnt-offering, and its cereal-offering, and its libation.

²³And on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, fourteen male lambs a year old without blemish, ²⁴their cereal-offering and their libations for the bullocks, and for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number in accordance with the ordinance, ²⁵and one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the regular burnt-offering, its cereal-offering, and its libation.

²⁶And on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, fourteen male lambs a year old without blemish, ²⁷and their cereal-offering and their libations for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, in accordance with the ordinance, ²⁸and one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the regular burnt-offering, its cereal-offering, and its libation.

²⁹And on the sixth day eight bullocks, two rams, fourteen male lambs a year old without blemish, ³⁰and their cereal-offering and their libations for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number in accordance with the ordinance; ³¹and one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the regular burnt-offering, its cereal-offering, and its libation.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

On the seventh day

³²And on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen male lambs a year old without blemish, ³³and their cereal-offering and their libations for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, in accordance with the ordinance; ³⁴and one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the regular burnt-offering, its cereal-offering, and its libation.

On the eighth day

³⁵On the eighth day ye shall have a solemn assembly; ye shall do no toil-some work; ³⁶but ye shall offer a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, of an odor pleasing to Jehovah: one bullock, one ram, seven male lambs a year old without blemish; ³⁷their cereal-offering and their libations for the bullock, for the ram, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, in accordance with the ordinance; ³⁸and one male goat as a sin-offering, in addition to the regular burnt-offering, and its cereal-offering, and its libation.

§ 223. Sabbatical Year, Lev. 25^{1-5, 17-22}

Holiness Code

No sowing but all to share natural products

Lev. 25 ¹Jehovah said to Moses on Mount Sinai, ²Speak to the Israelites and say to them, 'When ye have come to the land which I give you, the land shall rest for a sabbath to Jehovah. ³Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in its produce; ⁴but the seventh year shall be a sabbath of complete rest for the land, a sabbath to Jehovah; thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard. ⁵That which groweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy undressed vine thou shalt not gather; it shall be a year of complete rest for the land.

Means of subsistence

¹⁷And ye shall not wrong each other, but thou shalt fear thy God: for I am Jehovah your God. ¹⁸Therefore ye shall execute my statutes and keep mine ordinances and do them; then ye shall dwell in the land in security. ¹⁹And the land shall yield its fruit, and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell in it in security. ²⁰And if ye say, "What shall we eat in the seventh year? behold we may not sow or gather in our produce;" ²¹then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year and it shall bring forth produce for the three years. ²²And ye shall sow the eighth year, but eat of the old stores; until the produce of the ninth cometh in, ye shall eat of the old stores.'

§ 224. The Year of Jubilee, Lev. 25^{8-16, 23-34, 39-42, 47-52, 54}

Supplemental Priestly Codes

Sacred year of rest

Lev. 25 ⁸Thou shalt count seven sabbaths of years, for seven times seven years, and there shall be the equivalent of seven sabbaths of years, that is, forty-nine years. ⁹Then thou shalt sound a loud horn on the tenth day of the seventh month; on the day of atonement shall ye sound a horn

§ 223 Cf. § 113 and the introductory note. In the priestly codes the year of jubilee takes the place of the sabbatical year.

§ 224 Cf. for the history of the year of jubilee and the origin of the present laws, note § 113.

Supplemental Priestly Codes

throughout all your land. ¹⁰And ye shall set apart as sacred the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty throughout the land to all its inhabitants; it shall be a year of jubilee for you, and ye shall return each to his possession, and ye shall return each to his family. ¹¹A jubilee shall that fiftieth year be for you; ye shall not sow or reap that which grows of itself in it nor gather in the fruit of the undressed vines, ¹²for it is a jubilee; it shall be holy to you; ye shall eat its produce directly from the field.

¹³At this year of jubilee ye shall return each to his possession. ¹⁴And if thou sell any land to thy neighbor, or buy it of thy neighbor, ye shall not wrong each other. ¹⁵According to the number of years after the jubilee thou shalt buy land from thy neighbor, and according to the number of the crops until the next jubilee he shall sell it to thee. ¹⁶If the number of years be great, thou shalt increase its price; but if the number of years be small, thou shalt reduce its price, for it is the number of the crops that he selleth to thee.

²³And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine, and ye are resident aliens and settlers with me. ²⁴And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land. ²⁵And if thy fellow countryman become poor, and sell some of his possession, then shall his kinsman who is next to him come, and redeem that which his kinsman hath sold. ²⁶And if a man hath no one to redeem it, and he become rich and find sufficient to redeem it, ²⁷then let him count the years since its sale and refund the remainder to the man to whom he sold it, and he shall return to his possession. ²⁸But if he is not able to get it back for himself, then that which he hath sold shall remain in the hand of the purchaser until the year of jubilee; and in the jubilee it shall be released, and he shall return to his possession.

²⁹And if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, he shall have the right of redemption for a whole year after it was sold; for a full year he shall have the right of redemption. ³⁰But if it is not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be assured in perpetuity to its purchaser throughout his generations; it shall not be released in the year of jubilee. ³¹But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be reckoned with the fields of the country: they may be redeemed and they shall be released at the jubilee.

³²But in the case of houses in the cities which are the possession of the Levites the Levites may redeem at any time. ³³And if one of the Levites doth not redeem it, the house that was sold in the city of their hereditary possession shall be released at the jubilee; for the houses in the cities of the Levites are their possession among the Israelites. ³⁴But fields in the common pasture land of their cities may not be sold, for it is their perpetual possession.

⁴²And if thy fellow countryman grow poor, and sell himself to thee, thou shalt not make him to serve as a slave. ⁴⁰As a hired servant, and as a settler shall he be to thee; he shall serve with thee to the year of jubilee; ⁴¹then shall he be released by thee, together with his children, and shall return to his

Restoration of all hereditary lands

All land sold subject to restoration

Houses in walled and unwalled cities

Houses of the Levites

Manumission of all Hebrew slaves

LEV. 25⁴¹] THE POST-EXILIC SACRED CALENDAR

Supplemental Priestly Codes

own family, and to the possession of his fathers shall he return. ⁴²For they are my servants whom I brought from the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as slaves.

He-
brews
sold
subject
to this
law

^{47b}If thy fellow countryman become poor beside him and sell himself to a foreigner or alien residing with thee, or to a descendant of the foreigner's family, ⁴⁸he may be redeemed after he has sold himself; one of his kinsmen may redeem him, ⁴⁹or his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him, or one of his near kinsmen may redeem him; or, if he become rich, he may redeem himself. ⁵⁰He shall reckon with his purchaser from the year that he sold himself to him to the next year of jubilee; and the price of his release shall be according to the number of years of service; on the terms of a hired servant shall he be with him. ⁵¹If there are yet many years, in proportion to them he shall give back the price of his redemption out of the money for which he was bought. ⁵²And if there remain but few years until the year of jubilee, then he shall reckon with his master; according to the years of service still remaining shall he pay back the price of his redemption. ⁵⁴And if he be not redeemed in any of these ways, then he shall go free in the year of jubilee, together with his children.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I

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FIRST DECALOGUE: RIGHTS OF SLAVES

II

THE CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DECALOGUES OF EXODUS 21 AND 22

The following decalogues, together with that in Exodus 34, represent the oldest Hebrew laws which have been preserved. The few supplemental laws are reproduced in the footnotes; the evidence that these were not found in the original versions of these decalogues has already been presented in the Introduction, p. 25.

Superscription

Ex. 21 ¹Now these are the ordinances which thou shalt set before them :

First Decalogue : The Rights of Slaves

First Pentad: Males

I. Ex. 21 ²If a man buy a Hebrew slave, the slave shall serve six years; but in the seventh he shall go free without having to pay any ransom.

II. ³If he come in single, he shall go free unmarried.

III. If he be married, then his wife shall go out with him.

IV. ⁴If his master give him a wife and she bear him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, but the man shall go out by himself.

V. ⁵If, however, the slave shall definitely say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go free, ⁶then his master shall bring him before God, and shall lead him to the door, or the door-post, and his master shall bore through his ear with an awl; and the man shall be his slave as long as he liveth.

Second Pentad: Females

VI. ⁷If a man sell his daughter to be a slave, she shall not go free as do the male slaves.

VII. ⁸If she do not please her master, who hath espoused her to himself, then he may let her be redeemed; only he shall have no power to sell her to a foreign people seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.

VIII. ⁹If he espouse her to his son, he shall deal with her as with a daughter.

IX. ¹⁰If he marry another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish.

X. ¹¹If he do not these three things to her, then she may go out without having to pay any money.

DECALOGUES OF EXODUS 21 AND 22

Second Decalogue : Assaults

First Pentad : Capital Offences

I. Ex. 21 ¹²If a man strike another so that he die the manslayer shall be put to death.

II. ¹³If a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand, then I will appoint thee a place to which he may flee.

III. ¹⁴If a man attack another maliciously to slay him by treachery, thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may be put to death.

IV. ¹⁵He who striketh his father or his mother shall be put to death.

V. ¹⁶He who stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he still be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death.^a

Second Pentad : Minor Offences

VI. ¹⁸If men contend and one strike the other with a stone or a club, and he die not, but is confined to his bed, ¹⁹then if he rise again, and can walk out supported on his staff, the one who struck him shall be acquitted; only he must pay for the loss of the other man's time until he is thoroughly healed.

VII. ²⁰If a man strike his male or female slave with a stick so that he die at once, the master must be punished.

VIII. ²¹If, however, the slave survive a day or two, the master shall not be punished for it is his own loss.^b

IX. ²⁶If a man smite the eye of his male or female slave, so that it is destroyed, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.

X. ²⁷If he knock out a tooth of his male or female slave, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

Third Decalogue : Laws Regarding Domestic Animals

First Pentad : Injuries by Animals

I. Ex. 21 ²⁸If an ox fatally gore a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and its flesh shall not be eaten, but the owner of the ox shall be acquitted.

II. ²⁹But if the ox was already in the habit of goring, and it hath been reported to its owner, and he hath not kept it in, with the result that it hath killed a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and its owner shall also be put to death.

^a 21¹⁶ Although it cuts athwart the context, the following ancient law was inserted here because it likewise imposed capital punishment:

¹⁷Whoever curseth his father or his mother shall be put to death.

^b 21²¹ Clearly ²⁶ is the original sequel of ²¹. The following early laws have later been inserted:

²²If men strive together and hurt a pregnant woman so that she hath a miscarriage and yet no harm to her result, he shall be fined as the woman's husband shall determine; and he shall pay for the miscarriage. ²³But if any harm follow, then thou shalt give life for life, ²⁴eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, ²⁵branding for branding, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

LAWS REGARDING DOMESTIC ANIMALS

First Pentad: Injuries by Animals

III. ³⁰If a ransom is fixed for him, he shall give for the redemption of his life whatever amount is determined.

IV. ³¹Whether the ox hath gored a boy or a girl, this law shall be executed.

V. ³²If an ox gore a male or female slave, thirty shekels of silver shall be given to their master, and the ox shall be stoned.

Second Pentad: Injuries to Animals

VI. ³³If a man open a cistern or dig a cistern but doth not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall into it, ³⁴the owner of the cistern shall make it good; he shall give money to its owner and the carcass shall be his.

VII. ³⁵If one man's ox hurt another's, so that it dieth, then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the money received from it; they shall also divide the carcass between them.

VIII. ³⁶If it be known that the ox was already in the habit of goring and its owner hath not kept it in, he must pay ox for ox, and the carcass shall belong to him.

IX. 22 ¹If a man steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it, he shall restore five oxen for one ox, and four sheep for a sheep.^c ^{3b}If he have nothing, then he shall be sold to pay for what he hath stolen.

X. ⁴If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep, he must pay twice its value.

Fourth Decalogue : Responsibility for Property

First Pentad: Property in General

I. Ex. 22 ⁵If a man burn over a field or vineyard and let the fire spread so that it devoureth a neighbor's field, out of the best of his own field, and the best of his own vineyard shall he make restitution.

II. ⁶If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the shocks of grain, or the standing grain, or the field are consumed, he that kindled the fire must make restitution.

III. ⁷If a man deliver to his neighbor money or personal property to keep, and if it be stolen out of the man's house, if the thief be found, the man shall make double restitution.

IV. ⁸If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall come before God to prove whether or not he hath taken his neighbor's goods.

V. ⁹In every case of breach of trust whether it concern an ox, or ass, or sheep, or clothing, or any kind of lost thing of which one saith, This is it, the case of both parties shall come before God; he whom God shall condemn shall make double restitution to his neighbor.

^c 22¹ The sequel of ¹ is ^{3b}. Vss.^{2, 3a} deal with a related but distinct theme:

²If the thief be found breaking in and be struck down so that he dieth, the one who striketh him is not guilty of murder. ³If the sun hath risen, the one who striketh him, is guilty of murder; he must make restitution.

DECALOGUES OF EXODUS 21 AND 22

Second Pentad: Property in Cattle

VI. ¹⁰If a man deliver to his neighbor an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die or be hurt or be driven away without any one's having seen it, ¹¹an oath sworn by Jehovah shall be between both of them to decide whether or not the one hath taken his neighbor's property; the owner shall accept it, and the other need not make restitution.

VII. ¹²If it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution to its owner.

VIII. ¹³If the animal be torn in pieces, let him bring it as evidence; he need not make good that which was torn.

IX. ¹⁴If a man borrow an animal from his neighbor and it be hurt or die, while its owner is not with it, the man must make restitution.

X. ¹⁵If its owner be with it, the man need not make it good; being a hired animal, it came for its hire.

Fifth Decalogue: Social Purity

First Pentad: Adultery

I. Dt. 22 ¹³If, after a man hath married a wife and entered into marital relations with her, he turn against her, ¹⁴and frame against her shameful charges, . . . ¹⁵then the father of the young woman and her mother shall take and bring evidences of the young woman's virginity to the elders of the city at the gate; . . . ¹⁸And the elders of that city shall take the man and punish him; ¹⁹and they shall fine him a hundred shekels of silver, and give them to the young woman's father because the man hath given an evil name to a virgin of Israel; and she shall be his wife; he may not divorce her as long as he liveth. ^d

II. ²⁰But if it prove to be true that the evidences that the young woman was a virgin were not found, ^{21a}then they shall bring out the young woman to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her to death because she hath committed a shameful act in Israel, in that she hath been a harlot in her father's house.

III. ^{22a}If a man be found lying with a married woman, they shall both of them die, the man who lay with the woman and the woman.

IV. ^{23a}If a man find in the city a young woman who is a virgin betrothed to a husband, and lie with her, ²⁴then ye shall bring them both out to the gate of that city and stone them to death, the damsel because she did not cry out, although she was in the city, and the man because he hath seduced his neighbor's wife.

V. ²⁵If the man find a young woman, who is betrothed in the field, and force her and lie with her, then simply the man who lay with her shall die; ^{26a}but thou shalt do nothing to the young woman; she hath committed no sin worthy of death.

^dDt. 13¹³⁻¹⁹ The original decalogue versions of this and the four succeeding laws were undoubtedly at first far briefer, but, in common with most of the early laws in Dt., they have been freely worked over and expanded. Cf. Ex. 22¹⁶⁻²⁰.

FIFTH DECALOGUE: SOCIAL PURITY

Second Pentad: Fornication and Apostasy

VI. Ex. 22 ¹⁶If a man entice a young girl who is not betrothed, and lie with her, he must make her his wife by paying a dowry for her.

VII. ¹⁷If her father utterly refuse to give her to him, he shall pay money equivalent to the dowry of young girls.

VIII. ¹⁸A sorceress shall not be allowed to live.

IX. ¹⁹Whoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.

X. ²⁰He who sacrificeth to other gods, except to Jehovah, shall be placed under the ban.

III

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF WIVES IN HAMMURABI'S CODE

The following are the more important laws in the Code of Hammurabi regarding the rights of wives and the subject of divorce; the translation is from Johns' *Bab. and Assy. Laws, Contracts and Letters*:

§ 133. If a man has been taken captive, and there was maintenance in his house, but his wife has left her house and entered into another man's house; because that woman has not preserved her body, and has entered into the house of another, that woman shall be prosecuted and shall be drowned.

§ 134. If a man has been taken captive, but there was not maintenance in his house, and his wife has entered into the house of another, that woman has no blame.

§ 135. If a man has been taken captive, but there was no maintenance in his house for his wife, and she has entered into the house of another, and has borne him children, if in the future her [first] husband shall return and regain his city, that woman shall return to her first husband, but the children shall follow their own father.

§ 136. If a man has left his city and fled, and, after he has gone, his wife has entered into the house of another; if the man return and seize his wife, the wife of the fugitive shall not return to her husband, because he hated his city and fled.

§ 137. If a man has determined to divorce a concubine who has borne him children, or a votary who has granted him children, he shall return to that woman her marriage-portion, and shall give her the usufruct of field, garden, and goods, to bring up her children. After her children have grown up, out of whatever is given to her children, they shall give her one son's share, and the husband of her choice shall marry her.

§ 138. If a man has divorced his wife, who has not borne him children, he shall pay over to her as much money as was given for her bride-price and the marriage-portion which she brought from her father's house, and so shall divorce her.

§ 139. If there was no bride-price, he shall give her one mina of silver, as a price of divorce.

RIGHTS OF WIVES IN BABYLONIA

§ 140. If he be a plebeian, he shall give her one-third of a mina of silver.

§ 141. If a man's wife, living in her husband's house, has persisted in going out, has acted the fool, has wasted her house, has belittled her husband, he shall prosecute her. If her husband has said, "I divorce her," she shall go her way; he shall give her nothing as her price of divorce. If her husband has said, "I will not divorce her," he may take another woman to wife; the wife shall live as a slave in her husband's house.

§ 142. If a woman has hated her husband and has said, "You shall not possess me," her past shall be inquired into, as to what she lacks. If she has been discreet, and has no vice, and her husband has gone out, and has greatly belittled her, that woman has no blame, she shall take her marriage-portion and go off to her father's house.

§ 143. If she has not been discreet, has gone out, ruined her house, belittled her husband, she shall be drowned.

IV

REPARATION FOR DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

Hammurabi's laws regarding reparation for damage or loss of property reveal the stern paternal ruler (cf. for the corresponding Hebrew laws § 25):

§ 229. If a builder has built a house for a man, and has not made his work sound, and the house he built has fallen, and caused the death of its owner, that builder shall be put to death.

§ 230. If it is the owner's son that is killed, the builder's son shall be put to death.

§ 231. If it is the slave of the owner that is killed, the builder shall give slave for slave to the owner of the house.

§ 232. If he has caused the loss of goods, he shall render back whatever he has destroyed. Moreover, because he did not make sound the house he built, and it fell, at his own cost he shall rebuild the house that fell.

§ 233. If a builder has built a house for a man, and has not jointed his work, and the wall has fallen, that builder shall make that wall firm at his own expense.

§ 235. If a boatman has built a boat for a man, and has not made his work sound, and in that same year that boat is sent on a voyage and suffers damage, the boatman shall rebuild that boat, and, at his own expense, shall make it strong, or shall give a strong boat to the owner.

§ 236. If a man has let his boat to a boatman, and the boatman has been careless and the boat has been sunk or lost, the boatman shall restore a boat to the owner.

§ 237. If a man has hired a boat and boatman, and loaded it with corn, wool, oil, or dates, or whatever it be, and the boatman has been careless, and sunk the boat, or lost what is in it, the boatman shall restore the boat which he sank, and whatever he lost that was in it.

HAMMURABI'S LAWS OF INHERITANCE

V

HAMMURABI'S LAWS OF INHERITANCE

The Babylonian laws regarding inheritance concede many rights to women, although they carefully preserve within each family the title to its hereditary possessions. The laws of Hammurabi present suggestive parallels to and variations from the Old Testament usages :

§ 150. If a man has presented field, garden, house, or goods to his wife, has granted her a deed of gift, her children, after her husband's death, shall not dispute her right; the mother shall leave it after her death to that one of her children whom she loves best. She shall not leave it to her kindred.

§ 162. If a man has married a wife, and she has borne him children, and that woman has gone to her fate, her father shall lay no claim to her marriage-portion. Her marriage-portion is her children's only.

§ 163. If a man has married a wife, and she has not borne him children, and that woman has gone to her fate; if his father-in-law has returned to him the bride-price, which that man brought into the house of his father-in-law, her husband shall have no claim on the marriage-portion of that woman. Her marriage-portion indeed belongs to her father's house.

§ 164. If the father-in-law has not returned the bride-price, the husband shall deduct the amount of her bride-price from her marriage-portion, and shall return her marriage-portion to her father's house.

§ 165. If a man has presented field, garden, or house to his son, the first in his eyes, and has written him a deed of gift; after the father has gone to his fate, when the brothers share, he shall keep the present his father gave him, and over and above shall share equally in the goods of his father's estate.

§ 167. If a man has taken a wife, and she has borne him children and that woman has gone to her fate, and he has taken a second wife, and she also has borne children; after the father has gone to his fate, the sons shall not share according to mothers, but each family shall take the marriage-portion of its mother, and all shall share the goods of their father's estate equally.

§ 168. If a man has determined to disinherit his son and has declared before the judge, "I cut off my son," the judge shall inquire into the son's past, and, if the son has not committed a grave misdemeanor such as should cut him off from sonship, the father shall disinherit his son.

§ 170. If a man has had children borne to him by his wife, and also by a maid, if the father in his lifetime has said, "My sons," to the children whom his maid bore him, and has reckoned them with the sons of his wife; then after the father has gone to his fate, the children of the wife and of the maid shall share equally. The children of the wife shall apportion the shares and make their own selection.

§ 171. And if the father, in his lifetime, has not said, "My sons," to the children whom the maid bore him, after the father has gone to his fate, the children of the maid shall not share with the children of the wife in the goods

HAMMURABI'S LAWS OF INHERITANCE

of their father's house. The maid and her children, however, shall obtain their freedom. The children of the wife have no claim for service on the children of the maid.

The wife shall take her marriage-portion, and any gift that her husband has given her and for which he has written a deed of gift and she shall dwell in her husband's house; as long as she lives, she shall enjoy it, she shall not sell it. After her death it is indeed her children's.

§ 172. If her husband has not given her a gift, her marriage-portion shall be given her in full, and, from the goods of her husband's estate, she shall take a share equal to that of one son.

If her children have persecuted her in order to have her leave the house, and the judge has inquired into her past, and laid the blame on the children, that woman shall not leave her husband's house. If that woman has determined to leave, she shall relinquish to her children the gift her husband gave her, she shall take the marriage-portion of her father's estate, and the husband of her choice may marry her.

§ 173. If that woman, where she has gone, has borne children to her later husband, after that woman has died, the children of both marriages shall share her marriage-portion.

§ 174. If she has not borne children to her later husband, the children of her first husband shall take her marriage-portion.

§ 175. If either a slave of a patrician, or of a plebeian, has married the daughter of a free man, and she has borne children, the owner of the slave shall have no claim for service on the children of a free woman. And if a slave, either of a patrician or of a plebeian, has married a free woman and when he married her she entered the slave's house with a marriage-portion from her father's estate, be he slave of a patrician or of a plebeian, and from the time that they started to keep house, they have acquired property; after the slave, whether of a patrician or of a plebeian, has gone to his fate, the free woman shall take her marriage-portion, and whatever her husband and she acquired, since they started house-keeping. She shall divide it into two portions. The master of the slave shall take one half, the other half the free woman shall take for her children.

§ 176. If the free woman had no marriage-portion, whatever her husband and she acquired since they started house-keeping, she shall divide into two portions. The owner of the slave shall take one half, the other half the free woman shall take for her children.

§ 177. If a widow, whose children are young, has determined to marry again, she shall not marry without consent of the judge. When she is allowed to remarry, the judge shall inquire as to what remains of the property of her former husband, and shall intrust the property of her former husband to that woman and her second husband. He shall give them an inventory. They shall watch over the property, and bring up the children. Not a utensil shall they sell. A buyer of any utensil belonging to the widow's children shall lose his money and shall return the article to its owners.

§ 178. If a female votary, or vowed woman, has had given her by her father a portion, as for marriage, and he has written her a deed, and in the

RIGHTS OF DAUGHTERS

deed which he has written her he has not written that she may leave it as she pleases, and has not granted her all her desire, after her father has gone to his fate, her brothers shall take her field, or garden, and, according to the value of her share, shall give her corn, oil, and wool, and shall content her heart. If they do not give her corn, oil, and wool, according to the value of her share, and do not satisfy her, she shall let her field and garden to a farmer, whom she chooses, and the farmer shall support her. The field, garden, or whatever her father gave her, she shall enjoy, as long as she lives. She shall not sell it, nor mortgage it. The reversion of her inheritance indeed belongs to her brothers.

§ 179. If a female votary, or vowed woman, has had a portion given her by her father, and he has written her a deed, and in the deed that he has written her has [declared] that she may give it as she pleases, and has granted her all her desire; after her father has gone to his fate, she shall leave it as she pleases; her brothers shall make no claim against her.

§ 180. If the father has not given a portion to his daughter, who is a female votary, or vowed woman; after her father has gone to his fate, she shall share in the property of her father's house, like any other child. As long as she lives, she shall enjoy her share; after her, it indeed belongs to her brothers.

§ 181. If a father has vowed his daughter to a god, as a temple maid, or a virgin, and has given her no portion; after the father has gone to his fate, she shall share in the property of her father's estate, taking one-third of a child's share. She shall enjoy her share, as long as she lives. After her, it belongs to her brothers.

§ 182. If a father has not given a portion, as for marriage, to his daughter, a votary of Marduk of Babylon, and has not written her a deed; after her father has gone to his fate, she shall share with her brothers from the goods of her father's estate, taking one-third of a child's share. She shall not be subject to duty. The votary of Marduk shall leave it after her to whom she pleases.

§ 183. If a father has given a portion, as for marriage, to his daughter by a concubine, and has given her to a husband, and has written her a deed; after her father has gone to his fate, she shall not share in the goods of her father's house.

§ 184. If a man has not given a portion, as for marriage, to his daughter by a concubine, and has not given her to a husband; after her father has gone to his fate, her brothers shall present her with a marriage-portion, according to the wealth of her father's estate, and shall give her to a husband.

VI

HAMMURABI'S LAWS REGARDING ASSAULT

§ 196. If a man has knocked out the eye of a patrician, his eye shall be knocked out.

§ 197. If he has broken the limb of a patrician, his limb shall be broken.

§ 198. If he has knocked out the eye of a plebeian or has broken the limb of a plebeian, he shall pay one mina of silver.

HAMMURABI'S LAWS REGARDING ASSAULT

§ 199. If he has knocked out the eye of a patrician's servant, or broken the limb of a patrician's servant, he shall pay half his price.

§ 200. If a patrician has knocked out the tooth of a man that is his equal, his tooth shall be knocked out.

§ 201. If he has knocked out the tooth of a plebeian, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

§ 202. If a man has smitten the privates of a man, higher in rank than he, he shall be scourged with sixty blows of an ox-hide scourge, in the assembly.

§ 203. If a man has smitten the privates of a patrician, of his own rank, he shall pay one mina of silver.

§ 204. If a plebeian has smitten the privates of a plebeian, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

§ 205. If the slave of anyone has smitten the privates of a free-born man, his ear shall be cut off.

§ 206. If a man has struck another in a quarrel, and caused him a permanent injury, that man shall swear, "I struck him without malice," and shall pay the doctor.

§ 207. If he has died of his blows, [the man] shall swear [similarly], and pay one-half a mina of silver; or,

§ 208. If [the deceased] was a plebeian, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

§ 209. If a man has struck a free woman with child, and has caused her to miscarry, he shall pay ten shekels for her miscarriage.

§ 210. If that woman die, his daughter shall be killed.

§ 211. If it be the daughter of a plebeian, that has miscarried through his blows, he shall pay five shekels of silver.

§ 212. If that woman die, he shall pay half a mina of silver.

§ 213. If he has struck a man's maid and caused her to miscarry, he shall pay two shekels of silver.

§ 214. If that woman die, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

VII

HAMMURABI'S PENALTIES FOR THEFT

The following are the more important laws in the Code of Hammurabi concerning robbery :

§ 6. If a man has stolen goods from a temple, or house, he shall be put to death; and he that has received the stolen property from him shall be put to death.

§ 7. If a man has bought or received on deposit from a minor or a slave, either silver, gold, male or female slave, ox, ass, or sheep, or anything else, except by consent of elders, or power of attorney, he shall be put to death for theft.

§ 8. If a patrician has stolen ox, sheep, ass, pig, or ship, whether from a temple, or a house, he shall pay thirtyfold. If he be a plebeian, he shall return tenfold. If the thief cannot pay, he shall be put to death.

PENALTIES FOR THEFT

§ 9. If a man has lost property and some of it be detected in the possession of another, and the holder has said, "A man sold it to me, I bought it in the presence of witnesses"; and if the claimant has said, "I can bring witnesses who know it to be property lost by me"; then the alleged buyer on his part shall produce the man who sold it to him and the witnesses before whom he bought it; the claimant shall on his part produce the witnesses who know it to be his lost property. The judge shall examine their pleas. The witnesses to the sale and the witnesses who identify the lost property shall state on oath what they know. Such a seller is the thief and shall be put to death. The owner of the lost property shall recover his lost property. The buyer shall recoup himself from the seller's estate.

§ 10. If the alleged buyer on his part has not produced the seller or the witnesses before whom the sale took place, but the owner of the lost property on his part has produced the witnesses who identify it as his, then the [pretended] buyer is the thief; he shall be put to death. The owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.

§ 11. If, on the other hand, the claimant of the lost property has not brought the witnesses that know his lost property, he has been guilty of slander, he has stirred up strife, he shall be put to death.

§ 12. If the seller has in the meantime died, the buyer shall take from his estate fivefold the value sued for.

§ 21. If a man has broken into a house he shall be killed before the breach and buried there.

§ 22. If a man has committed highway robbery and has been caught, that man shall be put to death.

§ 23. If the highwayman has not been caught, the man that has been robbed shall state on oath what he has lost and the city or district governor in whose territory or district the robbery took place shall restore to him what he has lost.

§ 24. If a life [has been lost], the city or district governor shall pay one mina of silver to the deceased's relatives.

§ 25. If a fire has broken out in a man's house and one who has come to put it out has coveted the property of the householder and appropriated any of it, that man shall be cast into the self-same fire.

VIII

THE MARSEILLES SACRIFICIAL TABLET

Near the ruins of ancient Carthage a Phœnician inscription has been found which throws much light upon the old Canaanitish sacrificial customs. Although it cannot be dated earlier than the fourth or fifth century before the Christian era, it doubtless faithfully reflects much earlier institutions. In general the same sacrificial terms are used and the same laws prevail as among the Hebrews during the same period. Unfortunately the tablet, which is now at Marseilles, has been broken in many places and the meaning

THE MARSEILLES SACRIFICIAL TABLET

of several of the terms used is still doubtful. By the aid of parallels and the implications of the context the text may, however, be tentatively restored as follows:

¹Temple of Baal[]. Tariff of dues, set up by the superintendents of the dues in the time of []baal the governor^a, son of Bodtanit, son of Bodeshmun, and of Halazbaal, the governor, son of Bodeshmun, son of Halazbaal and their colleagues.

³For an ox, whether it be a whole-offering, or a prayer-offering, or a whole thank-offering, the priests shall have ten shekels of silver for each; and if it be a whole-offering, they shall have, besides this payment, three hundred shekels of flesh; and if it be a prayer-offering, the . . . and the . . . ; but the skin, and the . . . , and the feet, and the rest of the flesh, shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁵For a calf whose horns are imperfect . . . , or for a hart, whether it be a whole-offering, or a prayer-offering, or a whole thank-offering, the priests shall have five shekels of silver for each; and if it be a whole-offering, they shall have, besides this payment, one hundred and fifty shekels of flesh; and if it be a prayer-offering, the . . . and the . . . ; but the skin, and the . . . , and the feet, and the rest of the flesh, shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁷For a ram, or for a goat, whether it be a whole-offering, or a prayer-offering, or a whole thank-offering, the priests shall have one shekel, and two zars, of silver for each; and if it be a prayer-offering, they shall have, besides this payment, the . . . , and the . . . ; but the skin, and the . . . , and the feet, and the rest of the flesh, shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁹For a lamb, or for a kid, or for the young of a hart, whether it be a whole-offering, or a prayer-offering, or a whole thank-offering, the priests shall have three-fourths of a shekel, and two zars of silver for each; and if it be a prayer-offering, they shall have, besides this payment, the . . . , and the . . . ; but the skin, and the . . . , and the feet, and the rest of the flesh, shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

¹¹For a bird, whether domestic or wild, whether it be a whole thank-offering, or a . . . , or a . . . , the priests shall have three-fourths of a shekel, and two zars of silver for each; but the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

¹²For a bird, or sacred firstfruits, or a sacrifice of game, or a sacrifice of oil, the priests shall have ten gerahs for each.

¹³In every prayer-offering, which is presented before the gods, the priests shall have the . . . , and the . . . in the prayer-offering.

¹⁴For a cake, and for milk, and for fat, and for every sacrifice which a man may offer as a cereal-offering, the priests shall have . . .

¹⁵For every sacrifice which a poor man may offer in cattle or birds, the priests shall have nothing.

¹⁶Every . . . , and every . . . , and every . . . , and all men who may

^aLit., *suffete*, or, *judge*, i. e., the chief ruler of Carthage.

TABLES OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

sacrifice, ¹⁷these men shall give as payment for each sacrifice, according as is prescribed in the regulations . . .

¹⁸Every due which is not prescribed in this table shall be made according to the regulations which were drawn up by the superintendents of the dues in the time of []baal son of Bodtanit, ¹⁹and Halazbaal son of Bodeshmun, and their colleagues.

²⁰Every priest who may accept a due other than that which is prescribed in this table, shall be fined . . .

IX.

TABLES OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

These tables will give the approximate equivalents of the weights and measures employed in this volume. The following weights are computed according to the Troy standard:

	BABYLONIAN		PHENICIAN	
	HEAVY	LIGHT	HEAVY	LIGHT
Shekel.....	.7 oz.	.35 oz.	.47 oz.	.23 oz.
Mina.....	3.5 lbs.	1.75 lbs.	2.33 lbs.	1.17 lbs.
Talent.....	210.4 "	105.19 "	140.25 "	70.12 "

DRY AND LIQUID MEASURES

	LITRES	GALLONS
Log.....	.50	.11
Cab.....	2.02	.44
Omer.....	3.63	.80
Sacred Hin.....	4.54	1.00
Hin.....	6.06	1.33
Great Hin.....	9.09	2.00
Seah.....	12.12	2.67
Bath.....	36.37	8.00
Homer.....	363.70	80.05

LINEAR MEASURES

	LONGER SYSTEM		SHORTER SYSTEM	
	METRES	INCHES	METRES	INCHES
Finger's breadth.....	.022	.86	.019	.74
Palm.....	.087	3.44	.075	2.95
Span.....	.262	10.33	.225	8.86
Cubit.....	.525	20.67	.450	17.72

THE POST-EXILIC SACRED CALENDAR

X

THE POST-EXILIC SACRED CALENDAR

The following table will indicate in outline the dates and history of the more important feasts and fasts of later Judaism :

SABBATICAL FEASTS AND SACRED YEARS

References Outside the Legal Books

Sabbath	I Sam. 20 ^{5, 6} , II Kgs. 4 ²³ , 11 ⁵⁻⁷ , Neh. 8 ⁹⁻¹³ , 10 ³¹ , 13 ¹⁵⁻²² , Is. 56 ²⁻⁶ , 58 ¹² , Jer. 17 ²⁰⁻²⁷ , Ezek. 20 ¹²⁻¹⁶ , Hos. 2 ¹³ , Am. 8 ⁵ , Mt. 12 ⁹⁻¹³ , Mk. 3 ¹⁻⁵ , Lu. 6 ⁶⁻¹⁰ , 13 ¹⁰⁻¹⁷ , Jn. 5 ¹⁻¹⁶ , 9 ¹⁴⁻¹⁶
New Moon	I Sam. 20 ⁵ , Ps. 81 ^{3, 4} , Is. 1 ^{13, 14} , Am. 8 ⁵ , I Mac. 10 ³⁴
Sabbatical Year	Jer. 34, II Chr. 36 ²¹ , Neh. 10 ³¹ , I Mac. 6 ⁵³
Year of Jubilee	Is. 61 ^{1, 2} , 63 ⁴ , Lk. 4 ¹⁸⁻²¹

THE ANNUAL FEASTS AND FASTS

	<i>Pre-exilic Date</i>	<i>Post-exilic Date</i>	<i>Important References Outside the Legal Books</i>
Feast of Pass-over	In first month (March-April)	Fourteenth day of first month (March-April)	Josh. 5 ¹⁰ , II Chr. 30, 35, Ezra 6 ¹⁹ , Mt. 26 ² , Acts 12 ⁴
Feast of Wood Offering	.....	Fifteenth of first month	Jos. BJ II, 17 ⁶
Feast of Un-leavened Bread	Seven days in first month	Fifteenth to twenty-second of first month	Josh. 5 ¹¹ , II Chr. 35 ¹⁷ , Ezra 6 ²²
Feast of Weeks or Pentecost	Seven weeks after the beginning of grain harvest	Fifty days after passover; about the eighth of third month (early in June)	II Mac. 12 ³² , Acts 2 ¹ , 20 ¹⁶ , I Cor. 16 ⁸
New Year's Day or Feast of Trumpets	.....	First day of seventh month (Sept.-Oct.)	Neh. 8 ^{9, 10}
Day of Atonement	.....	Seventh day of seventh month	Ben S. 50 ⁵⁻²¹ , Acts 27 ⁹ , Heb. 2 ¹⁸ , 4 ¹⁴⁻¹⁶ , 5 ¹⁻¹⁰
Feast of Tabernacles	Seven days at the end of the year, when all the fruits had been harvested	Fifteenth to twenty-second of seventh month (Sept.-Oct.)	I Kgs. 8 ² , 12 ³² , II Chr. 5 ³ , 7 ⁸ , Ezra 3 ⁴ , 8 ¹⁴⁻¹⁷ , Zech. 14 ¹⁶⁻¹⁹ , Jn. 7 ¹⁻¹⁰

THE ANNUAL FEASTS AND FASTS

	<i>Pre-exilic Date</i>	<i>Post-exilic Date</i>	<i>Important References Outside the Legal Books</i>
Feast of Dedication or Lights		Eight days, beginning the twenty-fifth day of ninth month (Nov.-Dec.)	I Mac. 4 ⁵⁶⁻⁵⁹ , II Mac. 10 ⁶⁻⁸ , Jos. Ant. XII, 7 ⁷
Nicanor's Day		Thirteenth of twelfth month (Feb.-March)	I Mac. 7 ⁴⁹ , II Mac. 15 ³⁶
(later Fast of Esther)			
Feast of Purim		Fourteenth and fifteenth of twelfth month	II Mac. 15 ³⁶

The Student's Old Testament

*Logically and Chronologically
Arranged and Translated*

BY

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Announcement

The five essentials for Old Testament study:

(1) A systematic classification of its contents.

THE Old Testament is a library containing the writings of Israel's inspired teachers, who lived at periods far removed from each other, wrote from widely different points of view, and expressed their thoughts in the language and literary forms peculiar to the primitive Semitic East. Their modern readers, however, live in the very different western world. The result is that, while the combination of early songs, primitive traditions, ethnological tables, tribal stories, genealogical lists, prophetic exhortations, laws, judicial precedents, and historical narratives found, for example, in such a book as Exodus, seems perfectly natural to the intuitive Oriental, it is a fertile source of confusion to the logical Occidental. The obvious solution of the difficulty is to be found in systematic classification. This work was begun by the Greek translators of the Old Testament, to whom is chiefly due the approximately logical arrangement of the books in the English Bible. The confusion may be still further eliminated by grouping together those writings which have the same general theme, aim, and literary form, and then by re-arranging them within each group in the approximate order in which they were written.

(2) A comparative presentation of its original sources.

Where there are different versions of the same narrative or where two or more have been combined together—as is often the case in the first twelve books of the Old Testament—it is important that the originally distinct versions be printed side by side,

as in a harmony, that they may be studied comparatively and as independent literary units.

(3) **A lucid, exact translation.** The third essential is a clear, vivid, dignified translation, which will represent not merely the words but also the ideas, the spirit, and the beauty of the original, and which will put the reader, unacquainted with Hebrew, in possession of the latest contributions of philology, exegesis, and theology.

(4) **Clear literary analysis.** The fourth is a clear literary analysis, which will make it possible readily to trace the logical thought of a story, law, sermon, or poem, and to note the relation of the different parts to each other and to the whole.

(5) **Illuminating introductions and foot-notes.** Finally concise, lucid notes are demanded, which will at once present the historical background and the critical, geographical, and archaeological data required to illuminate the obscurities of the text, without distracting attention from its beauty and thought.

Aims and plan of the Student's Old Testament. These five absolute essentials the *Students' Old Testament* aims to supply in the fullest measure and in the most direct and usable form. The general plan is unique in its simplicity and economy of space. By combining a lucid, scholarly translation, a logical and chronological classification, and a critical and a literary analysis of the text with brief introductions and notes at the foot of the page, the reader is at once placed in command of the practical results of modern biblical research, many of which are otherwise found only in cumbersome technical works, intelligible only to the specialist.

Its origin. The sane, careful scholarship and the reverent constructive spirit of the author are already known to a wide circle of Bible students through his *History of the Hebrew People* and his volumes in the *Messages of the Bible*. The present extensive work is the result of years of preparation, in which he has also been able to profit by the generous suggestions and criticisms of a large number of biblical scholars and

practical teachers. The whole has been prepared to meet not theoretical but practical needs and has been tested at each point in university and Bible classes.

Its point of view and method. The work embodies the positive conclusions of the many hundreds of earnest critical scholars, who have during the past two centuries been grappling with the intricate problems of the Old Testament. For the first time in its history the various versions of its more important stories and historical records are printed throughout in parallel columns so that they can be readily studied in approximately their original form. In the introductions and foot-notes the biblical data upon which these results are based are cogently presented so that the ordinary Bible reader can readily understand and estimate their significance. Where the positions are established the fact is indicated, and where there is still uncertainty this is also frankly stated. When at times the author's conclusions differ from those of the majority of scholars the reasons for the departure are fully outlined.

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